ALL ABOUT DELHI.

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ALL ABOUT DELHI

An Exhaustive Hand-book

Compiled from Authentic Sources.

With 36 illustrations.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

This little book, *All About Delhi*, has been compiled with great care to meet the wants of all those visiting the City during the coming cold weather in connection with the Coronation Durbar of His Imperial Majesty King George V. It is intended to be a concise and compact *Vade Mecum*. The illustrations, thirty-six in number, have been chosen with care, and will, it is hoped, add to its usefulness. The book does not pretend to any very great originality, the matter being largely drawn from the standard writers on the history, antiquities and architectural glories of Delhi. In the first chapter an attempt is made to throw some fresh light on the earliest history of the City with the aid of the Hindu epic, the *Mahabharata*, a subject least touched upon by writers on Delhi so far. Even Mr. Fanshawe, whom no writer on the City can to any extent neglect, has apparently nothing to say on its earliest history. He is more concerned with the Mutiny period than with any other in particular, though his descriptions of the great mosques, palaces and other structural monuments of Delhi are of the highest interest. All these have been largely utilised in the present volume, and the compiler would here take the opportunity of recording his great indebtedness to Mr. Fanshawe's work. Of not less value to him has been Capt. Trotter's *Life of Nicholson*, which has been laid under contribution in the chapter on the Storming of Delhi. As regards the principal architectural monuments of the City, Dr. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* has been of the greatest use. Of

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modern descriptions of the City, Mr. Percival Landon's pen picture in his well-known work *Under the Sun* will, we have no doubt, be read with interest. The late Mr. G. W. Steeven's word picture in his book on *India* will be pronounced to be even more notable in that it happens to be the only sketch of the present city which attempts to give a kaleidoscopic view of it. A good account of the Mutiny and all the places connected with it has also been included in the present volume and for this the author is indebted to the works of Mr. Fanshawe and Capt. Trotter already referred to, and to Mr. Kerr's *From Charing Cross to Delhi*, and to General Sir Hugh Gough's *Old Memories*. The succinct account of the "Mutiny Sites" given in this book is taken from Mr. Reynolds-Ball's *Tourist's India*, a book that deserves to be better known. To aid the visitor in his peregrinations round the city a concise Gazetteer has also been included. A few statistical and other details have been taken from the revised *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Comprehensive chapters on the two previous *Durbars* held at Delhi have also been added not only to give some idea of them to those privileged to witness the coming event, but also to enhance the value of the present publication as a book of reference. The detailed programme recently announced by the Government of India has, besides, been printed at the end of the volume.

THE AUTHOR.

1st September, 1911.

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ALL ABOUT DELHI.

CHAPTER I.

THE HINDU KINGS.

Opinion is divided as to the derivation of the name of Delhi, but there is no doubt that it is not the oldest name of the town that first came into existence in its neighbourhood. This was the town of Indraprastha, said to have been founded by Yudhishtira, the eldest of the Pandava brothers. The exact circumstances that led to its founding are narrated in the *Mahabharata*. Briefly put, on the repatriation of the Pandavas, the Kauravas granted them the country included in the Khandavaprastha, "the expanding forest," situated in Kurukshetra, about 50 miles west by south of Hastinapura, the older capital, where the Kauravas preferred to stay. This forest was under the special protection of Indra and was inhabited by Takshaka kings, who were

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eventually burnt to ashes (according to the Epic) by Arjuna and Krishna at the instance of Agni. The new town established by Yudhishtira received the name of Indraprastha, being "decked with innumerable white mansions", and looking like the city of Amaravati, the capital of Indra. A glowing description of the great city occurs in the Epic, which it calls "a second heaven" on earth. Soon after its foundation, Arjuna and Krishna, apparently to extend their territorial limits, destroyed the surrounding forest in which lived, we are told, herds of wild animals, countless birds, Nagas, and Takshakas by the score. It may be inferred from the Epic that this was undertaken to satisfy Aryan interests—since Agni is represented as appearing as a Brahman before Krishna and Arjuna—and in that case we may take the Nagas, whose possessions they thus destroyed, as the primeval occupiers of this part of the Hastinapura Raj. However that may be, the City of Indraprastha appears to have increased in size and wealth during the Pandava days. There is reason to believe that it was during their time one of the most well-known towns of India. It is referred to in later portions of the Epic as *purottamam* (chief

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of towns). It was also known during this period under the alternative names of *Sakraprastha*, *Sakrapuri*, *Satakratuprastha*, and *Khandavaprastha*, the first four being synonyms of *Indraprastha*, and the last owing its birth to the forests in which it came to be established. One other fact we glean from the Mahabharata is that the town was the scene of many a noted incident recorded or referred to in it. It was there too that Vajra, the son of Aniruddha, was installed as king of the Yadavas, who settled in it.

But it is difficult to say how much of historical truth can be deduced from the accounts collected together in the Epic. Real history commences about the middle of the 11th Century after Christ, when a Rajput Chief of the Tomara clan, Ananga Pal by name, built the Red Fort, where the Kutb Mosque now stands and founded a town. He removed from, it has been surmised, Muttra, the celebrated Iron Pillar on which the inscription in praise of Chandragupta Vikramaditya is cut out, and set it up in 1052 A. D., as an ornament to the group of temples from the materials of which the Muhammadans afterwards constructed the great

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Mosque. One of the derivations popularly given of the name Delhi is connected with this Pillar. It is said that a Brahman told Ananga Pal that it had been so low down as to reach the head of Vasuki, the supposed serpent-king who is held to support the world, and had consequently become immovable, whereby the dominion was ensured for ever to the dynasty of its founder. The Raja dug out to the foundations and found its bottom reddened with Vasuki's blood, and immediately ordered it to be replaced. But his impiety rendered impossible its replacement to its original position. In consequence, it is said, the town received the name of Dhili, because the column, which was its outstanding feature, remained loose (dhila) in the ground. This derivation is obviously a latter-day invention, for the original name was undoubtedly Dilli, in which form it is yet known to Hindus all over. *Dihli* is the later Muhammadan form. Of all derivations suggested, the most probable one seems to be that which traces the name to the old Hindi word *Dil*, which means an eminence, the position of the town making it plausible. However this may be, Ananga Pal ruled over but a kingdom of small dimensions, extending

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from Hansi on the north, the Ganges on the east, Ajmere on the west, and Agra on the south. His descendants ruled during the next one hundred years, when it was supplanted by Visaldev, known popularly as Bisaldeo, a Chauhan Chief of Ajmere. His grandson was Prithvi Raj, the famous Rai Pithora, so well known to Northern Indian tradition. He was king both of Delhi and Ajmere, and built the city which long went by his name at the former place and whose walls may yet be traced round the Kutb Minar. He carried off the daughter of Jayachchandra of Kanauj about 1175 A. D., and seven years later defeated the Chandella Raja. But his fame rests on the heroic resistance he offered to the advance of the invading Muhammadan hosts. Punjab was now in the hands of Muhammad Ghori, who advanced as far as Bitunda and left a strong army there. Prithvi Rai placed himself at the head of a confederacy of Chiefs, and proceeded towards Bitunda, with 2,000 horse and 3,000 elephants. Muhammad Ghori marched to the relief of the garrison, but at Narain, now called Tirauri on the banks of the Sarasvathi (between Thaneswar and Karnal), he was encountered by the Hindu kings, whom

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he opposed. The fight was at close quarters and the Raja of Delhi—in the words of Ferishta—pierced Muhammad Ghori through the right arm, and almost felled him down, when he was borne away by one of his faithful followers. The Muhammadan Army was utterly routed, and ran away hotly pursued for forty miles by the victorious Hindus. Ghori keenly felt the disgrace inflicted on him, and as he himself said never from that moment "slumbered in ease, or waked, but in sorrow and anxiety." He returned in 1193 A. D., with a newly recruited army of 120,000 chosen horse, and sent word to Prithvi to either embrace Islam, or accept war. Prithvi Rai sent an equally haughty answer, gathered the kings around him and offered battle at the place where two years before he had nearly killed him. They encamped on this side of the Sarasvathi. Prithvi Rai sent word that if he was "wearied" of his own existence, he may yet have pity on his troops "who may still deem it a happiness to live." He wanted time to retire, but that was nothing more than a ruse. He treacherously broke his word and crossed the river a little before dawn, while the Hindus rested,

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believing in the truce, and entered part of the Indian camp before the alarm was given. Notwithstanding this the Hindus fought "with great resolution." Muhammad Ghori ordered his troops to successively charge the centre, and at sunset, Ghori advanced with 12,000 of his veterans and charged the Hindus creating great confusion. Chaurind Rai, of Delhi, lay dead on the field, and Prithvi Rai himself was taken, and put to death. Ajmere was next taken, its inhabitants being put to the sword or sold to slavery. Muhammad Ghori's slave Kutb-ud-din took Delhi the same year from Chaurind Rai's son, and founded the first Muhammadan line at the place.

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CHAPTER II.

EARLY MUHAMMADAN KINGS.

"The Empire of Delhi was founded by a 'Slave';" so ran a famous saying quoted by Ferishta. Kutb-ud-din was but a slave of Muhammad Ghori, and he was the founder (1206 A. D.) of the first Muhammadan Empire at Delhi. He was not only great in war, but also famous for his generosity, being called Lakbuksh "Bestower of Lakhs." He commenced the Mosque that bears his name in 1193, soon after the capture of the town, and also built the Kutb Minar, so well-known in Indian History. His son Aram who succeeded him was "ill-adapted to govern such an Empire," and was within a twelve month displaced by his brother-in-law Altamsh who succeeded him. He won back Bengal from Kutb's son-in-law and took Ujjain and sacked it. He finished the Mosque and the Minar begun by his father-in-law and died in 1236. His son was a cruel man and was deposed in favour of his sister Rezia, the only queen regent who ruled over Delhi. She was, in the words of Ferishta, "endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinize her actions most severely

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will find in her no fault but that she was a woman." She had read the Koran, and had acted as regent during her father's absence from the capital during his southern campaigns. She discarded her female apparel and veil, wore a tunic and a cap like a man, gave public audience, and rode on elephants without any attempt at concealment. But her partiality in which, however, there was nothing criminal for her Master of the Horse, who was an Abyssinian slave to boot, proved fatal to her. The Turki Chief of Altunia first raised the standard of revolt; and she advanced against him but was captured and thrown into prison. She soon escaped and advanced against Delhi. Two bloody battles followed, and the Sultana was taken prisoner and put to death. In a more peaceful age, she would have shone better and been treated more respectfully and with greater good sense. She was succeeded by two profligate and worthless rulers, and they in turn by Nasir-ud-din. During his time, revolts within and invasions from without, were the rule. His private life, however, was a blameless one; he had only one wife, and no concubines and he lived on what he obtained by copying MSS., and the general history of Persia and India, known as *Tabakati Nasiri*, after himself, was

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composed at his Court and is still famous all over India and Persia. He was succeeded by Balban, his General, a Turki slave and a son-in-law of Altamsh. He put an end to all his old friends, who might hereafter give him trouble, and he rigidly excluded all Hindus from high posts at Court. At his Court were gathered—owing to the Moghul invasion—as many as fifteen Muhammadan princes, after whom he named several of the Delhi streets. And as for literary fugitives their name was legion, and these were the special favourites of Prince Muhammad, his eldest son. Amongst these was the poet, Amir Khousrou, on the possession of whose society the Prince was congratulated by the celebrated Sadi, who sent him a copy of his works and regretted that his extreme old age prevented his accepting an invitation to Delhi. This Prince died in an engagement with the Moghuls and Balban was succeeded by a grandson of his son, named Kaikobad. He was a useless man, and was assassinated at the instance of Jelal-ud-din Khilji, who established himself on the vacant throne in 1288 A.D. This dynasty left little mark on the imperial city. Jelal-ud-din took Devagiri (now Doulatabad) and beat off the Moghuls as many as four times from the Delhi Gates. In

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one of these, he took a large number of them into his own service, and converting them into Muhammadanism, assigned quarters to them at what is still known in Delhi as Mogulpura. He was foully murdered by Alla-ud-din, who gloried in the title of Alexander II. He beat off the Moghuls twice from their attempts to take, and perhaps sack, Delhi. The prisoners taken were trampled to death by elephants and the men butchered in cold blood. It was to deter the Moghul savages that he fortified, in 1299, his camp at Siri, and this place afterwards became New Delhi and was joined to Old Delhi by the defences of Jahanpanah. During his reign Malik Kafur invaded South India, but the booty with which he returned to Delhi appears to have been lost in the Imperial Treasury. Kafur eventually poisoned his master, but he was himself soon after put to death and Mobarak, the old king's son, succeeded. His misdeeds ended in the usurpation of Khusru Khan, a low caste Hindu, who was put to death in battle by Ghazi Khan Tughlak, the Governor of the Punjab, who founded the Tughlak dynasty in 1321 A.D. He took the name of Ghaiyas-ud-din, and founded a new capital, known as Tughlakabad, on a rocky eminence, about four miles east of the present

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town. It is remarkable for its massive grandeur but none live in it now. He was succeeded by Muhammad Bin Tughlak in 1325, the luckless mad man who thrice tried to remove the capital to Doulatabad. It was during his reign that Ibn Batuta, a native of Tanjiers, visited Delhi. His picture of the city—where he was appointed a Judge on a salary of 12,000 *dinas* per annum by the Emperor—is a graphic one attesting to its desolation and architectural grandeur. "When I entered Delhi," he writes, "it was almost a desert. Its buildings were very few, in other respects, it was quite empty, its houses having been forsaken by its inhabitants....the consequence was, the greatest city in the world had the fewest inhabitants." That is no exaggeration, for, we have Ferishta exclaiming that he left "the noble metropolis of Delhi a resort for owls and a dwelling place for the beasts of the desert." Despite this, he calls Delhi "the most magnificent city, combining at once both beauty and strength. Its walls are such as to have no equal in the whole world. This is the greatest city of Hindustan; and, indeed, of all Islamism in the East. It now consists of four cities, which becoming contiguous have formed one.....the thickness

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of its walls is eleven cubits....its Mosque is very large; and in the beauty and extent of its building it has no equal. Before the taking of Delhi, it had been a Hindu temple which the Hindus call El Bur Khana (But Khana, probably Bud Khana), but after that event, it was used as a Mosque. In its court-yard is a cell, to which there is no equal in the cities of the Mahomedans; its height is such that men appear from the top like little children. In its court, too, there is an immense pillar, which they say is composed of stones from seven different quarries. Its length is thirty cubits; its circumference eight, which is truly miraculous." Apparently Ibn Batuta here refers to the Asoka Pillar, popularly called Ferozshah's *lat* as it is (erroneously it would appear, if Bututa is correct) believed to have been brought by him from Topra near Khizrabad in Ambala District. This is a monolith some 42ft. in height, and stands amidst the ruins of Feroz's palace, just inside the modern South Gate. Ferozshah succeeded his father—"the cruel tyrant" as Ferishta stigmatises him—in 1351 A. D. He was learned, wise and capable. He built Firozabad, which appears to have occupied all the ground between tomb of Humayun and the Ridge, where

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he fixed his capital. He recompensed all those who had suffered under the hands of his predecessor; reformed the criminal law, abolished vexatious taxes and spent largely on public works. He carved all his regulations on the mosque of Ferozabad, from which a long quotation is given by Ferishta. His greatest work was the excavation of the first canal in Northern India for irrigation purposes which partially survives in the western Jumna and eastern Jumna canals. His immediate successors left no mark on Delhi, indeed, until we come to the times of Muhammad Tughlak, we have nothing to record about its progress. He was a minor, and Timur, the famous Tartar Chief, burst on the capital already torn by sanguinary broils between factions. His march is described in graphic detail by Ferishta, to whose history the interested reader should turn if he wants a complete account. It was December 1398. Timur marched step by step, conquering and laying waste, until he lay before the very walls of Delhi. The King and his General fled for their lives and Delhi surrendered and Timur publicly proclaimed himself Emperor. Plunder and violence brought on resistance. "This led," writes Ferishta, "to a general massacre, some streets were rendered

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impassable by the heaps of dead; and the gates being forced, the whole Moghul army gained admittance, and a scene of horror ensued easier to be imagined than described." Thus ended the first sack of Delhi by the Moghuls. For five days, we are told, Timur remained a quiet witness to the sack and despoliation of the fair city; or rather he was "busy in his camp celebrating a grand festival on account of his victory." When they were tired of their deadly work and nothing remained to take, he gave the order to march; and on the day of his departure he "offered up," says another historian, "to the Divine Majesty *the sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise* in the noble Mosque of polished marble" erected by Feroz. The city yielded an incredible amount of booty, and countless men and women were sold into slavery, Timur himself carrying the identical architects and masons who built Feroz's Mosque, which he much admired, from Delhi to Samarkand to build one on a similar plan. For two months after his departure Delhi remained without a Government and almost entirely destitute of inhabitants, until Ekbal, a dependent of Muhammad, recovered it. The people now gradually returned and in a short time the old city put on the appearance of populousness,

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especially in the quarter known as the New City. Muhammad returned and was pensioned off. He died in 1412 A.D., and the Sayyid vassals of the Moghuls held the city until 1450, when the Lodi dynasty succeeded to the old Empire. Buhlol Lodi, the founder, left a consolidated kingdom to Sikander Lodi, (1503) who was one of the bigots who sat on the Delhi throne. He demolished Hindu temples and forbade pilgrimages. He made Agra his capital but Delhi retained much of its regained importance. His son Sikander was even a worse tyrant, and it is no wonder that rebellion broke out everywhere in his dominions. Babar, who claimed part of Timur's conquests as his inheritance, now marched forth with an immense army on Delhi. Ibrahim went out and gave him battle at Panipat (1526 A. D.), but was completely routed, he himself being amongst those slain. Delhi surrendered, and Agra was taken, and the Moghul rule was established in India.

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CHAPTER III.

THE MOGHUL EMPERORS.

Babar's son, Humayun returned to Delhi, and built and restored what is now known as Purana Killa (Old Fort) which is on the site of the old Indraprastha. The Afghan Sher Shah who defeated and drove Humayun to Kabul in 1540, enclosed and fortified the city with a new wall. One of his approaches known by the Lal Darwaza (Red Gate) still stands in solitary grandeur on the roadside, facing the local jail. His son and successor built the fortress of Salimgarh, which still preserves his name. Humayun's tomb, found in the neighbourhood, is a most striking architectural relic of early Moghul times. Akbar, who ascended the throne in 1556, lived mostly in Agra, where he lies buried, and Jehangir left as little mark on Delhi as his illustrious father. It looks so strange that the greatest of the Moghul Emperors should be so little connected with the history of the great Imperial city. Abul Fazl refers to Delhi in his famous work the *Ain-i-Akbari*, but his description is curiously suggestive of its secondary importance during Akbar's reign.

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"Delhi," he says, "is one of the greatest cities of antiquities", and then follows a succinct historical account in which reference is made to the different towns built by the former Emperors from Yudhishtira to Sher Khan. "Although," he winds up his account, "the monuments of these cities are themselves eloquent and teach us the highest moral lessons, yet even is this latest Delhi (of Sher Khan) now for the most part in ruins. The cemeteries are however populous." And it is probable that containing as they did the remains of revered Moslem saints, they were the sole attraction to outsiders. Abul Fazl's account is confirmed by an interesting sketch we have from William Finch who visited the city in 1611, the year of Jehangir's marriage with Nur Jehan. He travelled from Agra, then the capital, towards Lahore, and on the way halted at Delhi. "On the left hand," he says describing it, "is seen the carkasse of old Dely called the Nine Castles, and fifty-two gates, now inhabited only by Googers. A little short is a stone bridge of eleven arches, over a branch of Gemini (Jumna): from hence a broadway shaded with great trees, leading to the sepulchre of Hamaron (Humayun) this king's grandfather, in a large room spread with

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rich carpets, the tomb itself covered with a pure white sheet, a rich semiane over head, and a front, certain bookes on small tressels, by which stand his Sword, Tucke, and shoes: at the entrance are other tombs of his wives and daughters. Beyond this, under like shaded way you come to the Kings' house and Moholl (Mahal), now ruinous. The city is 2c. between Gate and Gate, begirt with a strong wall, but much ruinate, as are many goodly houses: within and about this city are the tombs of twenty Patan Kings, all very faire and stately. The Kings of India are here to be crowned, or else they are held Usurpers. It is seated in a goodly plain, environed with goodly pleasant gardens and monuments."

Shah Jahan, his son, however, made ample amends. He founded in 1638 Modern Delhi, and called it Shahjahanabad after himself. This is the present city. He surrounded it with the existing fortifications and built, besides his palace, the Jama Musjid; the materials being procured from the deserted cities of Ferozabad and the Afghan Sher Khan's new city. He also re-opened the Western Jumna Canal. Most of his buildings were in course of construction, when he was taken, and carried off to Agra by his eldest son Dara Shekoh

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and there deposed by his youngest son Aurangazeb in 1658. Bernier records the pathetic story of how, in his involuntary exile, Shah Jahan longed to see the Musjid, but indignantly refused to view them merely from a war vessel on the river, as stipulated by his unfilial son and successor. From Shah Jahan's time, Delhi remained, except for brief periods, the Moghul capital. Aurangazeb resided at it in the early years of his reign and was visited at it by Bernier (1663) and Tavernier (1665). The former gives a detailed description of the new town erected by Shah Jahan, which, for brevity, he says, was called Jahanabad. His description is too long to quote here (it extends to close upon forty-five pages in small print), but one who wants to get a first-hand idea of the transformation the city underwent during Shah Jahan's reign ought to read it for himself. Tavernier's account is considerably shorter, and incidentally we learn from it that Shah Jahan preferred Delhi to Agra, "because the climate is more temperate," and that while the king and the merchants lived at Jahanabad (Tavernier also styles the new city thus), the poor and the majority of the nobles lived in the old city—called in those days as Delhi. Sivaji, who contributed

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most to the downfall of the Moghul Empire, visited it in 1666. During Aurangazeb's time, the city, from all accounts, appears to have been in the hey-day of its prosperity. But it was during his time too that it tasted once again the royal blood. The parade of Dara Shekoh (who promised to be another Akbar) through its streets, seated on a wretched elephant and in ragged clothes and the subsequent exhibition through them of his body by Aurangazeb is one of the most touching events connected with the city during this long reign. This Dara, enlightened as a prince and faithful as a son, lies buried in the platform of Humayun's tomb. Aurangazeb died in 1707 and his son and successor Bahadur Shah followed him into the grave in 1712. During the next seven years the city witnessed the displacement and murder of four Emperors. Muhammad Shah began his reign in 1718 and ruled thirty years. He was the last and real Emperor of Delhi in the Moghul line. His rule was marked by the break-up of the Empire, and the founding of independent Kingdoms by old Governors and Vazirs. To add to the troubles, the Mahrattas wrested portions of the Empire, and the catastrophe was capped by the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739)

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who repeated the massacre of Timur the Tartar. For fifty-eight days, the pitiless Persian plundered the rich and the poor without distinction and returned home with a booty estimated at nine million sterling. The Peacock-Throne, on which Muhammad was the last to sit, was also carried away by him. His son Ahmad Shah succeeded him, but was in 1754 deposed in favour of Alamgir II. In 1756, Ahmad Shah Durani invaded India and marched up to Delhi and put it to the sword. This was followed in 1759, by the murder of the Emperor himself by the heartless Ghazi-ud-din, and the capture of Delhi by the Mahrathas (1759). They took under their protection, Shah Alam II, but they were defeated by Ahmad Shah Durani, the Afghan, at Panipat in 1761. But they recovered the city in 1771 and restored him to power. It was he who granted the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, in 1765 to the English. He was blinded and imprisoned by Rohilla rebels, from whom he was rescued. In 1788, a Mahratha garrison permanently occupied the Imperial Palace, and during the next sixteen years, they were all-supreme in North India. On March 14, 1803, Lord Lake having defeated the Mahrathas at the

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battle of Delhi (11th September 1803), entered the city and took the Emperor under British protection. Next year, Holkar attacked the city; but Col. (afterwards Sir David) Ouchterlony, first British Resident, successfully held out for eight days, until relieved by Lord Lake. The conquered territory was administered by the English in the name of the Emperor, who died in 1806, and was succeeded by Akbar II who in his turn was followed in 1837——the year of Queen Victoria's accession——by the last of the Moghuls, Bahadur Shah. The story of the Mutiny of Delhi belongs more to Indian History than to the annals of the city. Delhi was re-taken by the British in September, 1857 and Bahadur Shah was formally deposed and banished for life to Rangoon, where he died a state prisoner in 1862. Delhi remained for a while after its re-capture under Military Government, the inhabitants being expelled owing to frequent murders of British troops. Not long after the Hindus were freely allowed to re-enter, though the Mahomedans were strictly excluded, until about the beginning of 1858, when the city passed under the hands of the Civil Authorities. Since then the history of the great city has been one of peaceful development on modern lines.

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In 1876, it was visited by His late Imperial Majesty King Edward VII, as Prince of Wales. On 1st January 1877, Her late Majesty Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. Twenty-six years later in 1903, His late Majesty King Edward VII, was similarly proclaimed at a great Durbar held by Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India.

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CHAPTER IV.

MODERN DELHI.

Position, Population, & General Description.

The City of Delhi is situated in lat. 28·39 N; and long. 77·15 E; almost due north of Cape Camorin. It is the headquarters of the Delhi Division, District, and Tahsil, in the Province of Punjab, and stands on the west bank of the Jumna; distant from Calcutta 956 miles, and from Bombay 982 miles. Its population at the last Census (1901) was 208,575 as against 192,579 in 1891, and 173, 393 in 1881. The increase is greatly due to the mill industries, which have been developed largely in recent years. The population in 1901 included 114,417 Hindus, 88,460 Moslems, 3,266 Jains, 2,164 Christians, and 229 Sikhs. The following description of the city is taken from Mr. Fanshawe's *Delhi, Past and Present*:—

The present city of Shahjahanabad extends for nearly two and a quarter miles along the right

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bank of the Jumna from the Water Bastion* to the Wellesley Bastion in the south-east corner, nearly one-third of the frontage being occupied by the river wall of the Palace. The northern wall, so famous in the history of 1857, extends just three-quarters of a mile, from the Water Bastion to the Shah, commonly known as the Mori Bastion: the length of the west wall from this Bastion to the Ajmir Gate is one and a quarter mile and of the south wall to the Wellesley Bastion against almost exactly the same distance, the whole land circuit being thus three and a quarter miles.

In the north wall are situated the famous Kashmir Gate, the later built by a Maharatha Governor and now removed; in the west wall are the Kabul, Lahore, Farash Khana, and Ajmir Gates —the first two removed—and in the south wall the Turkman and Delhi. The gates on the river side of the city were the Khairati and Rajghat—the Calcutta and Nigambad—both removed; the Kela Gate, and the Badar Rao Gate, now closed.†

* The Water Bastion is known popularly as the Badar Rao Burj, and was known officially as the Moira Bastion; the Kashmir Bastion bore the name of the Ali Burj.

† The old gates of the city form a serious objection to the traffic, and several more of them are about to be presently relieved by side-openings through the walls. The Kashmir Gate will of course be retained untouched.

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The city is divided into two somewhat unequal portions by the Chandni Chauk, which, with the Lahore Bazaar, runs for just over a mile from the Lahore Gate of the Fort. This gate is very nearly equidistant from it and from the Kashmir, Delhi and Ajmir Gates.

The east of the city is opened up by a road from the Kashmir to the Delhi Gate, passing in front of the Old Magazine and the Fort and Palace, and having the Jama Musjid on its right, while the western portion has a main artery in the Lal Kua and Sirkiwalla Bazaar, which at the Hauz Kazi divides into three branches leading to the Ajmir Gate on the west, the Turkman Gate on the south, and by the Chauri Bazaar to the Jama Musjid on the east. Two well-known streets, Egerton Road, starting from opposite the Clock Tower, and Billimaran, further west, connects this main western artery with the Chandni Chauk. In the south-east corner of the city, between the walls and the Feiz Bazaar, is the small cantonment of Daryaganj, in which a native regiment is quartered, the rest of the Delhi garrison, consisting of a battery of garrison artillery, and two companies from the British regiment stationed at Meerut, being cantoned in the Fort.

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Beyond the Lahore Gate and the northern portion of the west wall of the city lies the Sadar Bazaar, with the Kadam Sharif and Idgah below it, and the Kishanganj and Paharipur quarters, the western Jumna canal and the south end of the ridge above it. About half-a-mile west of the south end of the ridge are the Sabzi Mandi and Roshanara Gardens, which complete the principal objects of interest on this side.

Beyond the north wall of the city, and approached by the Kashmir and Mori Gates, lies the Civil Station, skirted on its south side by the sites of the seige batteries of 1857, and the cemetery, and by the Nicholson and Kudsia Gardens, and bounded on the west by the Ridge, and on the east by the Jumna. Beyond the Ridge is the Old Cantonment, which was destroyed in May 1857, and was occupied by the force beseiging Delhi from June to September in that year. This is bounded on the west by the drainage canal from the Najafgarh Jhil, upon which the military cemetery of 1857 abuts. Across the canal, to the north of the high road, is the Bawari Plain, the site of the Imperial Assemblage of 1877, and of the scene of the Greater Coronation Durbar of 1st January 1903. This site lies three-and a-half

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miles from the Kashmir Gate of the city, from which all places to the north are measured, and one and a half mile from the Ridge. Two and a half miles further up the Grand Trunk Road, from the point where the route to the Bawari Plain diverges, is the site of the Battle of Badliki Serai, fought on 8th June 1857 and west of the field of battle are the scanty remains of the once famous Shalimar Gardens.

Half a mile beyond the Delhi Gate, in the south-east corner of the Daryaganji Cantonment, are the ruins of the citadel of Firozabad, above which the Buddhist Lat, placed there by Firoz Shah, still rises, and a mile further south, is the Purana Kila or Indrapat. Two miles south again is the tomb of the Emperor Humayun, with a group of buildings round it which terminates the objects of interest south of Delhi and adjoining the river.

Turning west from here, the Dargah of the great Shekh Nizam-ud-din-Aulia is first seen on the left, and after two-and-half miles Mubarikpur on the south, and the tombs of the Lodi Kings to the north, are passed, and half a mile further on, the tomb of Nawab Safdar Jang is reached. This is situated six miles from Delhi by the road from

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the Ajmir Gate, and from it the distance to the Kutab Minar and Old Delhi, to the south, is five miles, the road passing the tomb of Firoz Shah, one-and-half miles to the west and the Begumpur Mosque one mile to the east, besides many other buildings. At the original Delhi are situated the Kutab Minar, the Kuwat-ul-Islam Mosque, the Alai Darwazah, the tomb of Altamsh, and the Dargah, or shrine of Khwaja Kutab-ud-din, all of which are of great interest, besides the walls of the Fort, and several other structures. Five miles east of the Kutab are the remains of the gigantic fortress and city walls of Tuglakabad and the tomb of Tuglak Shah. Alone of all notable places in the neighbourhood, the field of the battle of Delhi, fought by Lord Lake on 11th September 1803, lies on the left bank of the river, between five and six miles from Delhi.

The following are from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*:—

DELHI MUNICIPALITY.

The municipality was created in 1850. The income and expenditure during the ten years ending 1902-3 averaged 5·6 lakhs. The income in 1903-4 was 6·5 lakhs, chiefly derived from octroi (3·1 lakhs), taxes on houses, lands, animals,

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vehicles, and tolls (1 lakh), municipal property and fines, &c. (Rs. 79,000), and sale of water (Rs. 40,000); and the expenditure was 5·8 lakhs, including general administration (Rs. 77,000), public safety (Rs. 96,000), water-supply (Rs. 40,000), conservancy (Rs. 83,000), hospitals and dispensaries (Rs. 41,000), public works (Rs. 69,000), and education (Rs. 33,000).

GARRISON.

The ordinary garrison consists of a company of garrison artillery and a detachment of British infantry in the Fort; a Native infantry regiment at Darya Ganj; and a Native cavalry regiment, for which lines have recently been built in the old cantonment, beyond the Ridge. The income and expenditure of cantonment funds during the ten years ending 1902-3 averaged Rs. 12,200.

INDUSTRIES.

The occupations and industries of Delhi are numerous, comprising jewellery, silversmith's work, brass and copper ware, ivory-carving, pottery, weaving, gold and silver embroidery, miniature painting, &c. For centuries the jewellery of Delhi has had a world-wide reputation, but it is doubtful whether the productions of the present day are equal to those of Moghul times. Ivory

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carving is carried on successfully by one or two families, and within recent years some very beautiful caskets and similar articles in this material have been produced. A feature of the work is the employment of geometric open-work patterns, which are carried out with a very high degree of finish. The pottery is a kind of rough porcelain and has certain artistic qualities. It is a comparatively modern art, and is in the hands of only one or two craftsmen. An important industry is gold and silver embroidery, chiefly carried on by the dealers of the Chandni Chauk. Although the designs are now showing signs of European influence, good Oriental patterns are still obtainable, and the art is in a fairly flourishing condition. The manufacture of gold and silver wire to carry on this industry employs a large number of hands. These *kandla kashan*, or wire-drawers, pay the municipality yearly Rs. 25,000, in return for which it supervises the melting and blending of the metal in a central workshop, and thereby gives it a guarantee of purity whose value is undisputed throughout India. Modern mill and factory industries have made great progress in the city. The Delhi Cloth and General Mills in 1904 employed 624 hands, the Hanuman and

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Mahadeo Spinning and Weaving Mills 895, the Kishen Cotton-Spinning Mill 575, and the Jumna Cotton-Spinning Mills 388. The principal flour-mills are the Northern India Flour-Mills with 107 employes, the Ganesh Flour-Mills with 178, and John's Flour-Mill with 113. The three sugar-cane pressing factories employed 246 hands, and the three cotton-ginning factories 305. Minor industries include printing, biscuit-making, malting, and iron and brass-work. The total number of factories, mills, &c., in 1904, was 22, and the total number of employes 3,460.

COMMERCE

Delhi possesses a very considerable trade, though the continuation of the North-Western Railway on the eastern bank of the river has thrown it somewhat off the modern line of traffic. It derives importance as a trade centre at present owing to the fact that grain and piece-goods are free of octroi, and it still forms the main entrepôt for commerce between Calcutta or Bombay on the one side and Rajputana on the other. The chief imports include chemicals, cotton, silk, fibres, grain, oilseeds, *ghi*, metals, salt, horns and hides, and European piece-goods. The exports consist of the same articles in transit, together with

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tobacco, sugar, oil, jewellery, and gold or silver lace-work. Beyond the borders of the Province, Delhi merchants correspond with those of Sind, Kabul, Alwar, Bikaner, Jaipur, and the Doab; while with all the Punjab towns they have extensive dealings. European finance is represented by the Bengal, the National, the Delhi and London, the Allahabad, and the Upper India Banks; and several cotton merchants have agents in the city. The great trade avenue of the Chandni Chauk, already described, is lined with the shops and warehouses of merchants, and is one of the chief sights of interest to the visitor at Delhi.

EDUCATION.

The principal educational institution was, until 1877, the Delhi College, founded in 1792, but abolished in 1877, in order to concentrate higher education in the Punjab University at Lahore. The chief school is now the Municipal High School, with six branch schools; other high schools are the Anglo-Arabic, the Anglo-Sanskrit, St. Stephen's Mission School, and the Shahzada High School, maintained chiefly for poor descendants of the Mogul imperial family. All these receive

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grants-in-aid. The Municipal High School has been managed by the Educational Department since 1904. The city also has a Normal School, which trains vernacular teachers for primary schools, a municipal industrial school, the aided middle boarding schools for girls of the Baptist Mission and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and a school on the Yunani system of native medicine.

HOTELS.

The principal hotel is Maiden's Hotel, well situated in the civil station, close to Ludlow Castle, and excellently managed. Laurie's Hotel is outside the Mori Gate, and another Hotel is just inside; and there are usually two or three hotels inside the Kashmir Gate, near St. James' Church. The management of most of these frequently changes, and it is not possible, therefore, to say much about them. There are two small rest houses at the Kutub, and a good breakfast or lunch may be obtained at them; if it is proposed to sleep there, bedding, etc., for the night must be taken from Delhi. Permission to occupy the Rest House in Adham Khan's tomb at the Kutub must be specially obtained from the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi.

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SERAIS.

There are several good *Serais* near the Delhi Railway Station. There is a Dharmasala built by L. Chunna Mal, about quarter of a mile from the Station, where food can be obtained at moderate rates, and accommodation is free.

MAHROLI FAIR.

A grand fair is held at Mahroli, on the site of Old Delhi, 11 miles from the present city, in the rainy season. Enormous numbers of people flock to it from far and near.

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CHAPTER V.

SOME DELHI SIGHTS.

To the sight-seer Delhi offers a vast field. The monuments are many ; they range in date from the earliest to the modern times ; and they lie in different parts of the city. In Chapter VIII they will be found grouped alphabetically, with succinct notes added under each monument. A great many readers would, however, prefer to have Fergusson's sketches of the more important of these in one place, and accordingly this chapter has been mainly designed with that object in view.

JAIN TEMPLE AT MODERN DELHI.

This exhibits certain singular architectural features, and is thus described by Fergusson :—

There is one other example that certainly deserves notice before leaving this branch of the subject, not only on account of its beauty, but its singularity. In the preceding pages it has frequently been necessary to remark upon that curious wooden strut by which the Jains sought to relieve the apparent weakness of the longer beams

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under their domes. It occurs at Abu, at Girnar, and Udaipur, and many other places we shall have to remark upon in the sequel; everywhere, in fact, where an octagonal dome is used. It was also employed by the Hindus in their torans, and so favourite an ornament did it become that Akbar used it frequently both at Agra and Futtehpore Sikri. For centuries it continued without much alteration, but at least, in such an example as the great Bowli at Bundi, we find it degenerating into a mere ornament. It was left, however, for a Jaina architect of the end of the last or the beginning of this century, in the Mahomedan City of Delhi, to suggest a mode by which what was only conventionally beautiful might really become an appropriate constructive part of lithic architecture.

As will be observed * * * * * * * the architect has had the happy idea of filing in the whole of the back of the strut with pierced foliaged tracery of the most exquisite device—thus turning what, though elegant, was one of the feeblest parts of Jaina design into a thoroughly constructive stone bracket; one of the most pleasing to be found in the Indian architecture, and doing this while preserving all

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its traditional associations. The pillars, too, that support these brackets, are of great elegance and constructive propriety, and the whole makes up as elegant a piece of architectural design as any certainly of its age. The weak part of the composition is the dome. It is elegant, but too conventional. It no longer has any constructive propriety but has become a mere ornament. It is not difficult, however, to see why natives should admire and adopt it. When the eyes of a nation have been educated by a gradual succession of changes in any architectural object, preserved in through five or six centuries, the taste becomes so accustomed to believe the last fashion to be the best, the change has been so gradual that people forget how far they are straying from the true path. The European, who has not been so educated, sees only the result, without having followed the steps by which it has been so reached, and is shocked to find how far it has deviated from the form of a true dome of construction, and, finding it also unfamiliar, condemns it. So, indeed, it is with nine-tenths of the ornaments of Hindu architecture. Few among us are aware how much education has had to do with their admiration of

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classical or mediæval art, and few, consequently, perceive how much their condemnation of Indian forms arises from this very want of gradual and appropriate education.

MOSQUE AT OLD DELHI.

So universally has the Mosque at Old Delhi been admired that it is necessary to set out what Fergusson has to say of it. He writes :—

Nothing could be more brilliant, and at the same time more characteristic, than the commencement of the architectural career of those Pathans in India. So soon as they felt themselves at all sure of their conquest, they set to work to erect two great mosques in their two principal capitals of Ajmir and Delhi, of such magnificence as should redound to the glory of their religion and mark their triumph over the idolators. A nation of soldiers equipped for conquest, and that only, they had of course brought with them neither artists nor architects, but like all nations of Turanian origin, they had strong architectural instincts, and having a style of their own, they could hardly go wrong in any architectural project they might attempt. At the same time, they found among their new subjects an infinite number of artists quite cap-

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able of carrying out any design that might be propounded to them.

In the first place, they found in the colonnaded courts of the Jaina temples nearly all that was wanted for a ready-made mosque. All that was required was the removal of the temple in its centre, and the erection of a new wall on the west side, adorned with niches-mihrabs—to point out to the faithful the direction in which Mecca lay, towards which, as is well known, they were commanded in the Koran to turn when they prayed. It is not certain, however, that they were ever, in India, content with this only. In the two instances at least to which we are now referring, they determined in addition to erect a screen of arches in front of the Jaina pillars and to adorn it with all the richness and elaboration of carving which their Indian subjects were capable of executing. Nothing could be more successful than the results. There is a largeness and grandeur about the plain simple outline of the Mahomedan arches which quite overshadows the smallest parts of the Hindu fanes, and at the same time, the ornamentation, though applied to a greater extent than in any other known examples of surface-decoration as elaborate as

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this, but hardly anywhere on such a scale. Some parts of the interior Sta. Sophia at Constantinople are as beautiful, but there are only a few square yards. The palace at Meshita, if completed, might have rivalled it, but it is a fragment; and there may be,—certainly were—examples in Persia between the times of Chosroes and Harun-al-Rashid, which may have equalled these, but they have perished, or at least are not known to us now; and even if they ever existed, must have been unlike these mosques. In them we find a curious exemplification of some of the best qualities of the art, as exhibited previously by the Hindus, and practised afterwards by their conquerors.

Of the two mosques at Delhi and at Ajmir, the first-named is the earlier, having been begun some seven or eight years before the other, and is also very much the larger. It is, besides, associated with the Kutub Minar, and some of the most beautiful tombs of the age, which altogether make up a group with which nothing at Ajmir can compare. The situation, too, of the Delhi ruins is singularly beautiful, for they stand on the gentle slope of a hill, overlooking a plain that had once apparently been a lake, but which

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afterwards became a site of three successive capitals of the East. In front are the ruins of Tugluckabad, the gigantic fort of the Pathan Chief; and further north the plain is covered with the ruins of Old Delhi, the capital of later Pathans and earlier Moguls. Beyond that, at the distance of nine or ten miles are seen the towers of Shahjehanabad, the Modern Capital, and till recently the seat of the nominal monarchy of the Great Mogul. Still further north are situated the civil stations and cantonments of the British rulers of the country. It is a fortunate circumstance that the British nation was not, as at Agra, placed in the midst of the ruins, since it is to this that we owe their preservation. But for the distance, marble columns would doubtless have been taken for all purposes for which they might have been available with a total disregard to their beauty, and the interest of the ruins thereby annihilated. Even as it is, the buildings belonging to the celebrated Shahlimar gardens, which were the only buildings of importance in the neighbourhood of the English station have disappeared: but these are of slight importance as compared with the ruins further south.

The general arrangement of the principal ruins

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will be understood from the plan * * * * * * which was taken with great care, though the scale to which it has been necessary to reduce it prevents all its peculiarities from being seen. To understand it, it is necessary to bear in mind that all the pillars are of Hindu, and all the walls of Mahomedan, architecture.

It is a little difficult to determine to what extent the pillars now stand as originally arranged by the Hindus, or how far they have been taken down and re-arranged by the conquerors. Even supposing them to be undisturbed, it is quite evident that the enclosing walls were erected by the Moslems, since all the string-courses are covered with ornaments in their style, and all the openings possess pointed arches, which the Hindus never used. On the whole, the probability seems to be that the entire structure was re-arranged in the form we now see it by the Mahomedans. The celebrated mosque at Canogue is undoubtedly a Jaina temple, re-arranged on a plan precisely similar to that of the mosque of Amrou at Old Cairo * * * * * * * * The roof and domes are all of Jaina architecture, so that no trace of the Moorish style is to be seen internally; but the exterior is as purely of

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Mahomedan architecture. There is another mosque at Dhar, near Mandu, of more modern date, and, without doubt, a re-arrangement of a Jaina temple. Another, in the fort of Jaunpore as well as many other mosques at Ahmedabad and elsewhere, all show the same system of taking down and re-arranging the materials on a different plan. If, therefore, the pillars at the Kutub were *in situ*, the case would be exceptional*; but I cannot, nevertheless, help suspecting that the two-storeyed pavilions in the angles, and those behind the screen may be as originally erected, and some of the others may be so also; but to this we will return when speaking of the Ajmir mosque, where the Jaina pillars are almost certainly as first arranged. It is quite certain, however, that some of the pillars

* General Cunningham found an inscription on the wall recording that twenty-seven temples of the Hindus had been pulled down to provide materials for this mosque. (Archæological Reports, Vol, I. P. 176) This, however, proves little, unless we know what the temples were like which were destroyed for this purpose. Twenty-seven temples like those at Khajuraho, excepting the Ganthai, would not provide pillars for one-half the inner courts. One temple like that at Sadri would supply a sufficiency for the whole mosque, and though the latter is more modern, we have no reason for supposing that similar temples may not have existed before Mahomedan times.

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at the Kutub are made up of similar fragments, and were placed where they now stand by the builders of the mosque. The only question and it is not a very important one—is, how many were so treated? It may, however, be necessary to explain that there could be no difficulty in taking down and re-building these erections, because the joints of these pillars are all fitted with the precision that the Hindu patience alone could give. Each compartment of the roof is composed of nine stones—four architraves, four angular and one central slab * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * all so exactly fitted, and so independent of cement, as easily to be taken down and put up again. The same is true of the domes all which being honestly and fairly fitted, would suffer no damage for the process of removal and re-erection.

The section * * * * * * * of one-half of the principal colonnade (the one facing the great series of arches) will explain its form better than words can do. It is so purely Jaina, that it should, perhaps have been mentioned in speaking of that style; but as forming a part of the earliest mosque in India, it is most appropriately introduced in this place. The

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pillars are of the same order as those used on Mount Abu * * * * * * except those that at Delhi are much richer and more elaborate. Most of them probably belong to the 11th or 12th Century, and are among the few specimens to be found in India that seem to be overloaded with ornament. There is not one inch of plain surface from the capital to the base, except the pillars behind the screen and some others which belong to the older buildings. Still the ornament is so sharp and so cleverly executed, and the effect, in their present state of decay and ruin so picturesque, that it is very difficult to find fault with what is so beautiful. In some instances the figures that were on the shafts on the pillars have been cut off, as offensive to Mahomedan strictness with regard to idolatrous images; but on the roof and less seen parts, the cross-legged figures of the Jaina saints, and other emblems of that religion, may still be detected.

The glory of the mosque, however, is not in these Hindu remains but in the great ranges of arches on the western side, extending north and south for about 385 ft., and consisting of three greater and eight smaller arches; the central one

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22 ft. wide and 53 ft. high; the larger side arches 24ft. 4in., and about the same height as the central arch; the smaller arches, which are unfortunately much ruined, are about half these dimensions * * * * * * Behind this, at the distance of 32 ft., are the foundations of another wall; but only intended apparently, to be carried as high as the roof of the Hindu pillars it encloses. It seems probable that the Hindu pillars between the two screens were the only part proposed to be roofed, since some of them are built into the back part of the great arches, and all above them is quite plain and smooth, without the least trace of any intention to construct a vault or roof of any sort. Indeed, a roof is by no means an essential part of a mosque; a wall facing Mecca is all that is required, and in India is frequently all that is built, though an enclosure is often added in front to protect the worshippers from interruption. Roofed colonnades are, of course, convenient and ornamental accompaniments, yet far from being indispensable.

The history of this mosque, as told in its construction, is as curious as anything about it. It seems that the Afghan conquerors had a

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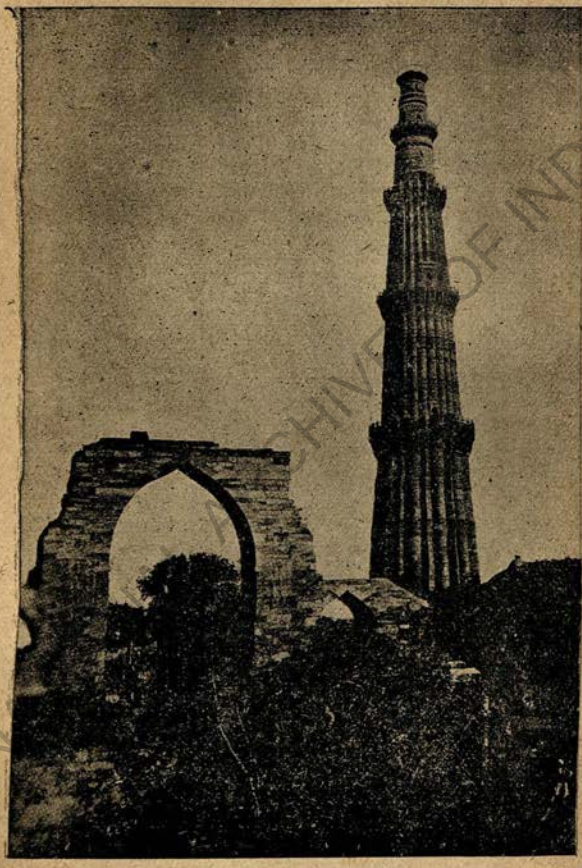

KUTB MINAR, NEAR DELHI.

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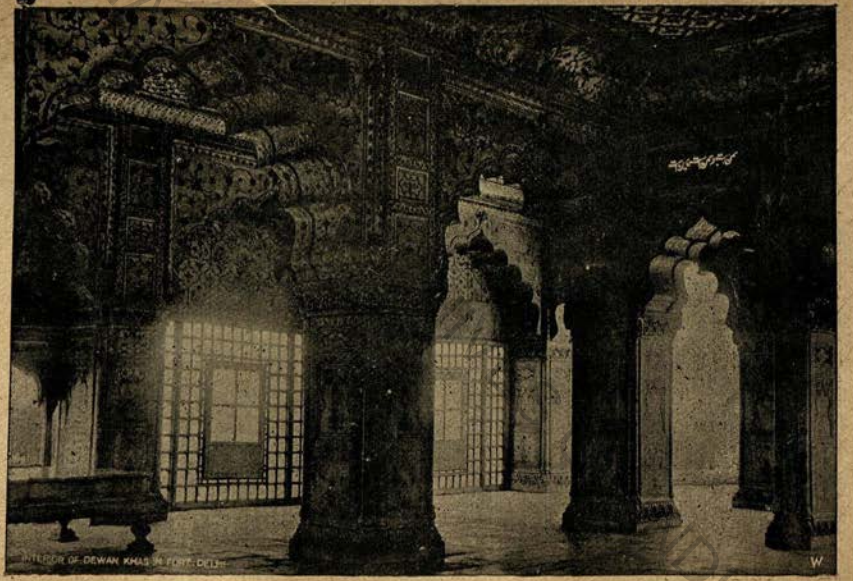
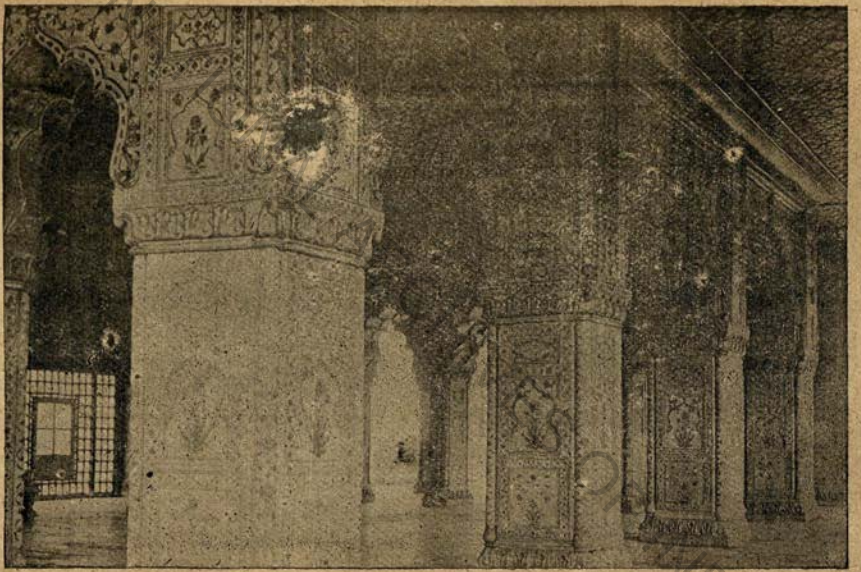
ENTRANCE TO KUTB MINAR, DELHI.

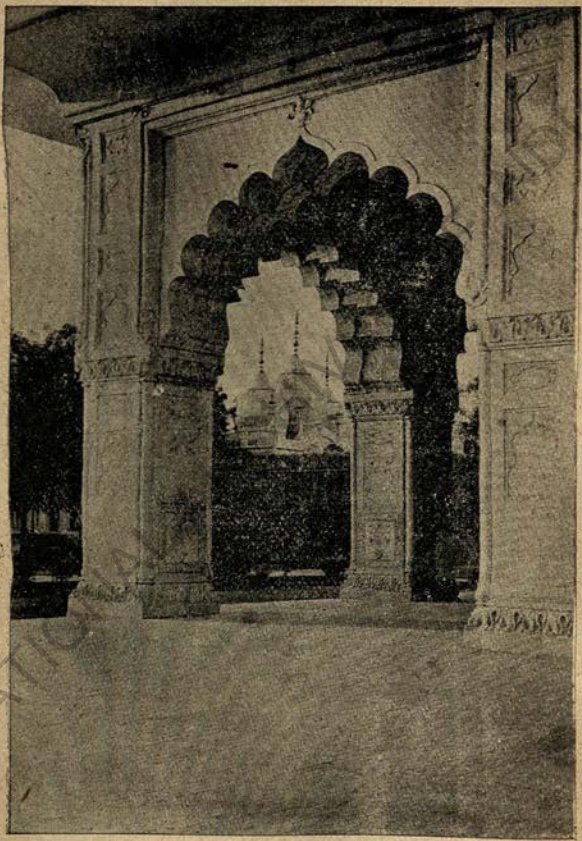
THE DEWAN-I-KHAS, FORT, DELHI.



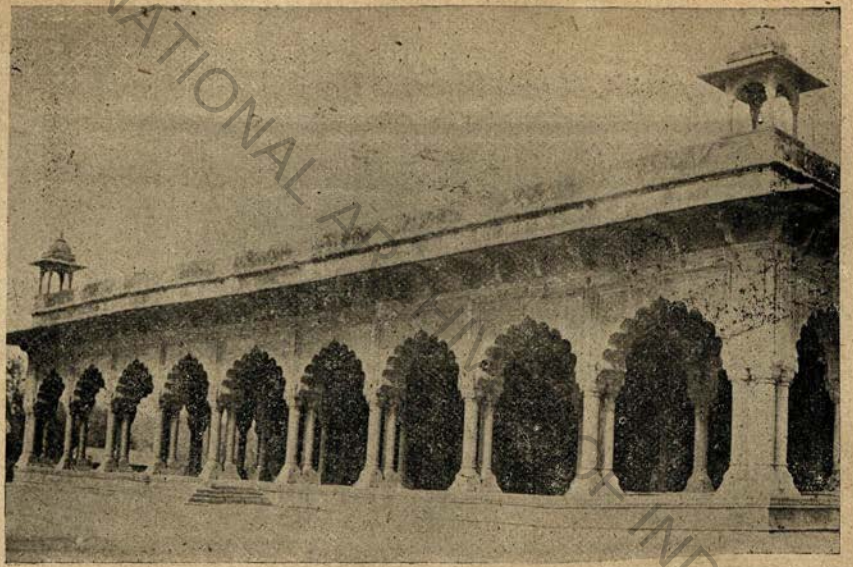
INTERIOR OF DEWAN-I-KHAS, FORT, DELHI.



INTERIOR OF DEWAN-I-KHAS, FORT, DELHI.



A CORNER OF THE DEWAN-I-KHAS.



DIWAN-I-AM—EXTERIOR.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE CITY, DELHI.

tolerably distinct idea that pointed arches were the true form for architectural openings; but, being without science sufficient to construct them, they left the Hindu architects and builders whom they employed to follow their own devices as to the mode of carrying out the form. The Hindus up to this time had never built arches—nor, indeed, did they for centuries afterwards. Accordingly they proceeded to make the pointed openings on the same principle upon which they built their domes. They carried them up in horizontal courses as far as they could, and then closed them by long slabs meeting at the top, the construction being, in fact, that of the arch of the aqueduct at Tusculum.

The same architects were employed by their masters to ornament the faces of these arches; and this they did by copying and repeating the ornaments on the pillars and friezes on the opposite sides of the court, covering the whole with a lace-work of intricate and delicate carving, such as no other mosque except that at Ajmir ever received before or since; and which—though perhaps in a great measure thrown away when used on such a scale—is without exception, the most exquisite specimen of its class known

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to exist anywhere. The stone being particularly hard and good, the carving retains its freshness to the present day, and is only destroyed above the arches, where the faulty Hindu construction has superinduced premature decay.

KUTUB MINAR.

A description of Kutub Minar will be found in Chapter VIII of this book, but Fergusson's remarks on it deserve to be reproduced here. He says :—

The Kutub Minar or great minaret, is 48 ft. 4 in. in diameter at the base, and when measured in 1794, was 242 ft. in height. Even then, however, its capital was ruined, so that some 10 feet or perhaps 20 ft. must be added to this to complete its original elevation. It is ornamented by four boldly-projecting balconies ; one at 97 ft. the second at 148 ft., the third at 188 ft., and the fourth at 214 ft. from the ground ; between which are richly sculptured raised belts containing inscriptions. In the lower storey the projecting ribs which form the flutes are alternately angular and circular ; in the second circular and in the third angular only. Above this the Minar is plain, and principally of white

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marble with belts of the same red sandstone of which the three lower storeys are composed.

It is not clear where the angular flutings are copied; from some peculiarity found in the minarets at Khorasan and further westward or whether they are derived from the forms of the temples of the Jains. The forms of the bases of the minarets at Ghazni appear to lend probability to the first hypothesis; but the star-like form of many temples—principally Jaina—in Mysore and elsewhere * * * would seem to countenance the idea of their being of Hindu origin. No star-like forms have yet, however, been found so far north, and their destruction has been too complete for us to hope that they may be found now. But this, as it may, it is probably not too much to assert that the Kutub Minar is the most beautiful example of its class known to exist anywhere. The rival that will occur at once to most people is the campanile at Florence, built by Giotto. That is, it is true, 30 ft. taller, but it is crushed by the mass of the cathedral alongside; and, beautiful though it is, it wants that poetry of design and exquisite finish of detail which marks every

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moulding of the Minar. It might have been better if the slope of the sides had been at a higher angle, but that is only apparent when seen at a distance; when viewed from the court of the Mosque its form is perfect; and, under any aspect, is preferable to the prosaic squareness of the outline of the Italian example.

The only Mahomedan building known to be taller than this is the minaret of the mosque of Hassan, at Cairo; but as the pillar at Old Delhi is a wholly independent building, it has far nobler appearance, and both in design and finish far surpasses not only its Egyptian rival, but any building of its class known to me in the whole world. This, however, must not be looked at as if erected for the same purposes as those usually attached to mosques elsewhere. It was not designed as a place from which the Muezzin should call the prayers, though its lower gallery may have been used for that purpose also, but as a Tower of Victory—a *Jaya Stambha*, in fact,—an emblem of conquest, which the Hindus could only too easily understand and appreciate.

At a distance of 470 feet north of this one

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a second minar was commenced by Ala-ud-din of twice its dimensions, or 297 ft. in circumference. It was only carried up to the height of 40 ft. and abandoned probably in consequence of the removal of the seat of Government to the new capital of Tughlakabad.

The date of all these buildings is known with sufficient exactness from the inscriptions which they bear, from which it appears that the inner court was enclosed by Shahab-ud-din. The central range of arches was built by Kutub-ud-din ; the wings by Altamsh, whose tomb is behind the northern range, and the Kutub Minar was either built or finished by the same monarch. They extend there, from A. D. 1196-1235, at which date they were left incomplete in consequence of the death of the last-named king.

IRON PILLAR.

The Iron Pillar, near the Kutub Minar, is a Hindu Memorial dating from about the 5th century A. D. It has excited great admiration during many centuries amongst visitors to Delhi. Fergusson considers it as "one of the most interest-

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ing objects" to be seen at the Kutub Mosque. He writes:—

One of the most interesting objects connected with this mosque is the iron pillar which stands—and apparently always has stood—in the centre of its court-yard. It now stands 22 ft. above the ground, and as the depth under the pavement is now ascertained to be only 20 in. the total height is 23 ft. 8 in.* Its diameter at the base is 164 in., at the capital 12·05 in. The capital is 3½ft. high, and sharply and clearly wrought into the Persian form that makes it look as if it belonged to an earlier period than it does; and it has the amalaka moulding which is indicative of considerable

* It is a curious illustration how difficult it sometimes is to obtain correct information in India, that when General Cunningham published his Reports in 1871, he stated, apparently on the authority of Mr. Cooper, Deputy Commissioner, that an excavation had been carried down to a depth of 26 ft., but without reaching the bottom. "The man in charge, however"—*temoin oculaire*—"assured him that the actual depth reached was 35 ft."—Vol. I. p. 169. He consequently estimated the whole length at 60 ft. but fortunately ordered a new excavation, determined to reach the bottom—coute qui coute—and found it at 20 inches below the surface.—Vol. IV. p. 28, pl. 5. At a distance of a few inches below the surface it expands in a bulbuous form to a diameter of 2 ft. 4 in. and rests on a grid-iron of iron bars, which are fastened with lead into the stone pavement.

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antiquity. It has not, however, been yet correctly ascertained what its age really is. There is an inscription upon it, but without a date. From the form of its alphabet, Prinsep ascribed it to the 3rd or 4th century; Bhau Daji, on the same evidence, to the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. The truth probably lies between the two. My own conviction is that it belongs to one of the Chandra Rajahs of the Gupta Dynasty, either consequently to A. D. 363 or A. D. 400.

Taking A. D. 400 as a mean date—and it certainly is not far from the truth—it opens our eyes to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that stage capable of forging a bar of iron larger than any that has been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this lat in roofing the porch of the temple at Kanaruc we must now believe that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that, after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the

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capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago.*

As the inscription informs us the pillar was dedicated to Vishnu, there is little doubt that it originally supported a figure of Garuda on the summit which the Mahomedans of course removed; but the real object of its erection was as a pillar of victory to record the "defeat of the Balhikas,† near the seven mouths of the Sindhu", or Indus. It is, to say the least of it, a curious coincidence, that eight centuries afterwards men from that same Bactrian country should have erected a *Jaya Stambha* ten times as tall as this one, in the same court-yard, to celebrate their victory over the descendants of those Hindus who so long before had expelled their ancestors from the country.

* There is no mistake about the pillar being of pure iron. General Cunningham had a bit of it analysed in India by Dr. Murray in the School of Mines here by Dr. Percy. Both found it pure malleable iron without any alloy.

† Can these Balhikas be the dynasty we have hitherto known as the Sah kings of Saurastra? They certainly were settled on the lower Indus from about the year A. D. 79, and were expelled, according to their own dates, A. D. 264 or 371. (See "Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society," Vol. VIII. p. 28.) My impression is that this may ultimately prove to be the true solution of the riddle.

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TOMB OF ALTAMSH.

The design and workmanship of his tomb has been greatly praised by professional architects, and is cited as a good example of Hindu art applied to Mahomedan purposes. Fergusson writes briefly but pointedly of it in his work on the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* :—

Immediately behind the north-west corner of the mosque stands the tomb of Altamsh, the founder. Though small, it is one of the richest examples of Hindu art applied to Mahomedan purposes that Old Delhi affords, and is extremely beautiful, though the builders still display a certain degree of inaptness in fitting the details to their new purposes. The effect at present is injured by the want of a roof, which, judging from appearance, was never completed, if ever commenced. In addition to the beauty of its details it is interesting as being the oldest tomb known to exist in India. He died A. D. 1236.

ALA-UD-DIN KHILJI'S TOMB.

This tomb, which was built over a century after the Mahomedan conquest of Delhi, is one of the finest in all Delhi, which may be described to be the city of tombs. Fergusson

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speaks highly of its workmanship and is of opinion that it "displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection." He observes :—

It was erected by Ala-ud-din Khilji, and the date 1310 is found among its inscriptions. It is therefore about a century more modern than the other buildings of the place, and displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection, when the Hindu masons have learned to fit their exquisite style of decoration to the forms of their foreign masters. Its walls are decorated internally with a diaper pattern of rivalled excellence, and the mode in which the square is changed into an octagon is more simply elegant and appropriate than any other example I am acquainted with in India. The pendentives accord perfectly with the pointed openings in the four other faces, and are in every respect appropriately constructive. True, there are defects. For instance, they are too plain for the elaborate diapering which covers the whole of the lower part of the building both internally and externally; but ornament might easily have been added; and their plainness accords with the simplicity of the dome, which is, indeed, by no means worthy of the substructure. Not being

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pierced with windows, it seems as if the architect assumed that its plainness would not be detected in the gloom that in consequence prevails.

This building, though small—it is only 53 ft. square externally, and with an internal apartment only 34 ft. 6in. in plan—marks the culminating point of the Pathan style in Delhi. Nothing so complete had been done before, nothing so ornate was attempted by them afterwards. In the previous, wonderful buildings were erected between this period and the Mogul conquest, but in their capital their edifices were more marked by solemn gloom and nakedness than by ornamentation or any of the higher graces of architectural art. Externally it is a good deal damaged, but its effect is still equal to that of any building of its class in India.

DELHI PALACE.

This is, perhaps, the most seen and most described of all buildings in Delhi. It merits, for many reasons, both these compliments. It is not only famous by its architectural beauties, but also by its rich historical associations. Of the many descriptions that have been given of it, none have the merits possessed by that of Fergusson, for quoting whom no excuse is needed. He writes:—

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Though the palace at Agra is perhaps more picturesque, and historically certainly more interesting than that of Delhi, the latter had the immense advantage of being built at once, on one uniform plan and by the most magnificent, as a builder, of all the sovereigns of India. It had, however, one great disadvantage, in being somewhat later than Agra. All Shah Jehan's buildings there seem to have been finished before he commenced erection of the new city of Shajehanabad with its palace, and what he built at Agra is soberer, and in somewhat better taste than at Delhi. Notwithstanding these defects, the palace at Delhi is, or rather was, the most magnificent palace in the East—perhaps in the world—and the only one, at least in India, which enables us to understand what the arrangements of a complete palace were when deliberately undertaken and carried out on one uniform plan. The palace at Delhi which is situated like that at Agra close to the edge of the Jumna, is a nearly regular parallelogram, with the angles slightly canted off, and measures 1,600 ft. east and west, by 3200 ft. north and south, exclusive of the gateways. It is surrounded on all sides by a very noble of red sandstone, relieved at intervals

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by towers surmounted by kiosks. The principal entrance faces the Chandni Chauk, a noble wide street nearly a mile long, planted with two rows of trees, and with a stream of water running down its centre. Entering within its deeply-recessed portal, you find yourself beneath the vaulted hall, the sides of which are in two storeys and with an octagonal break in the centre. This hall, which is 375 ft. in length over all, has very much the effect of the nave of a gigantic Gothic cathedral, and forms the noblest entrance known to belong to any existing palace. At its inner end this hall opened into a court-yard, 350 ft. square, from the centre of which a noble bazaar extended right and left, like the hall, two storeys in height, but not vaulted. One of these led to the Delhi gate, the other, which I believe, was never quite finished, to the garden. In front, at the entrance, was the Nobut Khana or music hall, beneath which the visitor entered the second or great court of the palace, measuring 550 ft. north and south, by 385 ft. east and west. In the centre of this stood the Dewanni Aum or great audience hall of the palace, very similar in design to that at Agra, but more magnificent. Its dimensions are, nearly as I can ascertain,

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200 ft. by 100 ft. over all. In its centre is a highly ornamental niche, in which, on a platform of marble richly inlaid with precious stones,* and directly facing the entrance, once stood the celebrated peacock throne, the most gorgeous example of its class that perhaps even the East could ever boast of. Behind this again was a garden court; on its eastern side was the Rung Mehal or painted hall, containing a bath and other apartments.

This range of buildings, extending 1,600 ft. east and west, divided the palace into two nearly equal halves. In the northern division of it were a series of small courts, surrounded by buildings

* When we took possession of the palace every one seems to have looted after the most independent fashion. Among others, a Captain (afterwards Sir John) Jones tore up a great part of this platform, but had the happy idea to get his loot set in marble as table tops. Two of these he brought home and sold to the Government for £500, and they are now in India Museum. No one can doubt that the one with the birds was executed by Florentine, or at least Italian artists; while the other, which was apparently at the back of the platform, is a bad copy from Raphael's picture of Orpheus charming the beasts. As is well known, that again was a copy of a picture in the catacombs. There Orpheus is playing on lyre, in Raphael's picture on a violin, and that is the instrument represented in the Delhi mosaic. Even if other evidence were wanting this would be sufficient to set the question at rest. It certainly was not put there by the bigot Aurungazebe, nor by any of his successors.

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apparently appropriated to the use of the distinguished guests; and in one of them overhanging the river stood the celebrated Dewani Khas or private audience hall—if not the mose beautiful, certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shah Jehan's buildings. It is larger certainly, and far richer in ornament than that at Agra, though hardly so elegant in design; but nothing can exceed the beauty of the inlay of precious stones with which it is adorned or the general poetry of the design. It is round the roof of this hall that the famous inscription runs: "If there is a heaven on earth it is this, it is this", which may safely be rendered into the sober English assertion, that no palace now existing in the world possesses an apartment of such singular elegance as this.

Beyond this to the northward were the gardens of the palace, laid out in the usual formal style of the East, but adorned with fountains and little pavilions and kiosks of white marble, that render these so beautiful and so appropriate to such a climate.

The whole of the area between the central range of buildings, to the south and eastward from the bazaar, measuring about 1000 ft. each

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way, was occupied by the harem and private apartments of the palace, covering consequently, more than twice the area of the Escurial, or, in fact, of any palace in Europe. According to the native plan I possess, which I see no reason for distrusting, it contained three garden courts, and some thirteen or fourteen other courts, arranged some for state, some for convenience, but what they were like we have no means of knowing. Not one vestige of them now remains. Judging from the corresponding parts of the palace at Agra, built by the same monarch, they must have vied with the public apartments in richness and in beauty, when originally erected, but having continued to be used as an abode down to the time of the Mutiny, they were probably very much disfigured and debased. Taste was, no doubt, at as low an ebb inside the walls of the palace during the last hundred years as it was outside, or as we find it at Lucknow and elsewhere; but all the essential parts of the structure were there, and could easily have been disencumbered from the accretions that had been heaped upon it. The idea, however, of doing this was far from entering into the heads of our governors. The whole of the harem courts of the palace

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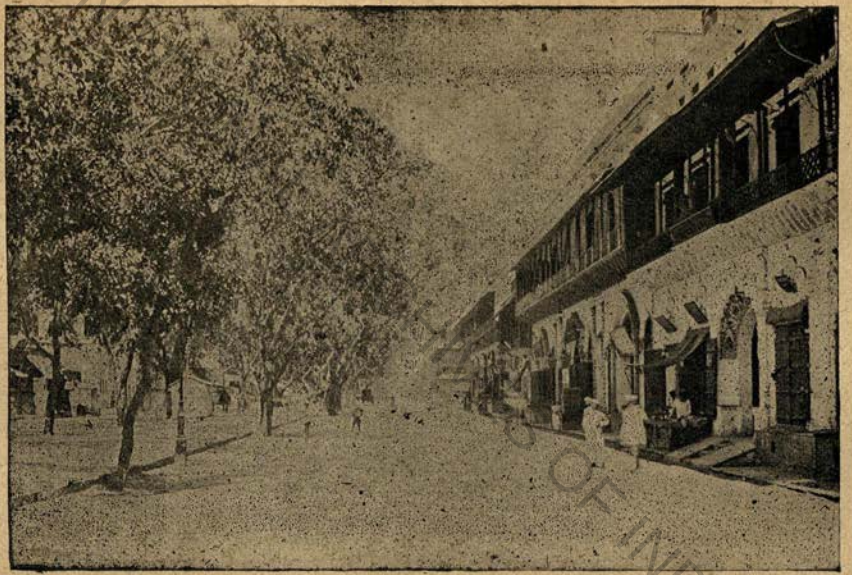

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI.

CHANDNI CHOWK—ANOTHER VIEW.

THE JUMMA MUSJID, DELHI.

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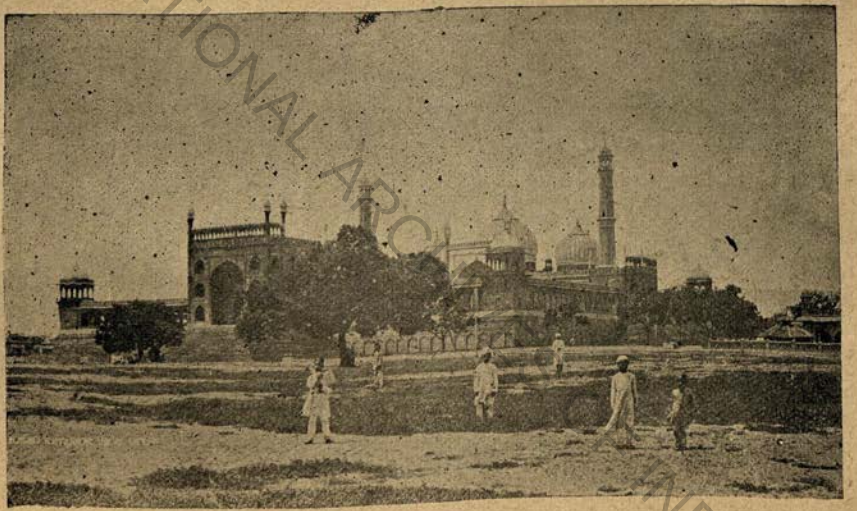

JUMMA MUSJID—EXTERIOR VIEW, DELHI.

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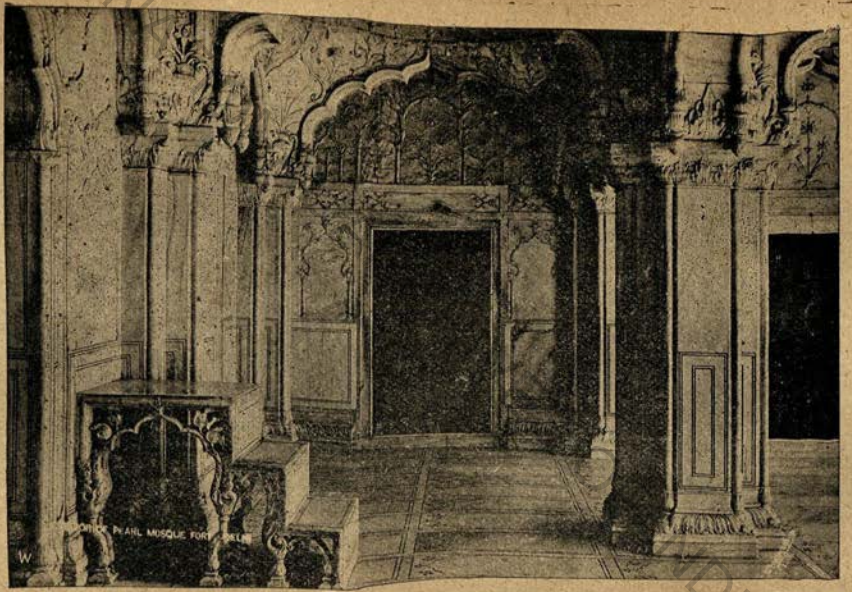

INTERIOR OF PEARL MOSQUE, FORT, DELHI.

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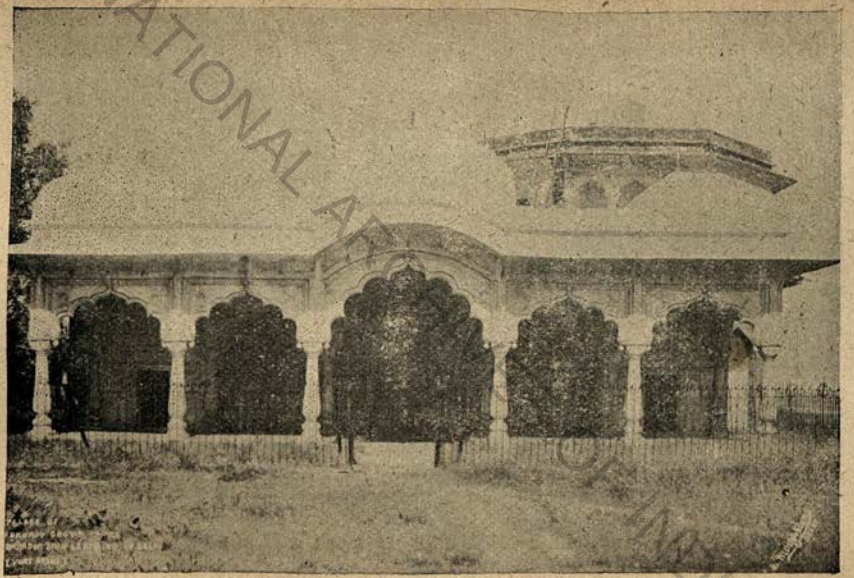

THE PALACE OF MIRZA FUKHROO, DELHI FORT.

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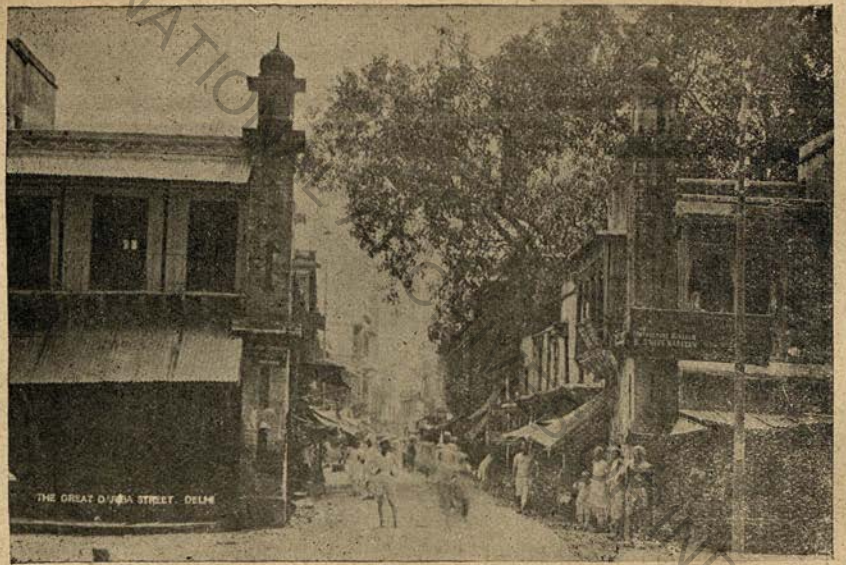

THE GREAT DURBAR STREET, DELHI.

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were swept off the face of the earth to make way for the hideous British barracks, without those who carried out this fearful piece of Vandalism thinking it ever worth while to make a plan of what they were destroying, or preserving any record of the most splendid palace in the world.

Of the public parts of the palace all that now remains is the entrance hall, the Nobut Khana, the Diwan-i-Aum and Khas, and the Rung Mehal—now used as mess room—and one or two small pavilions. They are the gems of the palace, it is true, but without the courts and corridors connecting them they lose all their meaning and more than half their beauty.* Being now situated in the middle of a British barrack-yard they look like precious stones, torn from their settings in some exquisite piece of Oriental jeweller's work and set at random in a bed of commonest plaster.†

* It ought in fairness to be added, that since they have been in our possession, considerable sums have been expended on the repair of these fragments.

† The excuse for this deliberate act of Vandalism was, of course, the military one, that it was necessary to place the garrison of Delhi in security in the event of any sudden emergency. Had it been correct it would have been a valid one, but this is not the case. Without touching a single building of Shah Jehan's there was ample space within the walls for all the stores and

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JUMMA MUSJID.

This is one of the three famous Moghul mosques of India, the two others being at Futtehpore Sikri (built by Akbar) and at Agra (built by Shah Jehan). Of this Fergusson has the following interesting remarks to make :—

The Jumma Musjid at Delhi is not unlike the the Moti Musjid in plan, though built on a very larger scale, and adorned with two noble minarets,

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materials of the garrison of Delhi, and in the palace and Selim Ghur ample space for a garrison, more than doubly ample to man their walls in the event of emeute. There was ample space for larger and better ventilated barracks just outside the palace of walls, where the Sepoy lines now are, for the rest of the garrison, who could easily have gained the shelter of the palace walls in the event of any sudden rising of the citizens. It is, however, ridiculous to fancy that the diminished and unarmed population of the city could ever dream of such an attempt, while any foreign enemy with artillery strong enough to force the bastioned enceinte that surrounds the town would in a very few hours knock the palace walls about the ears of any garrison that might be caught in such a trap.

The truth of the matter appears to be this : the engineers perceived that by gutting the palace they could provide at no trouble or expense a wall round their barrack-yard, and one that no drunken soldier could scale without detection, and for this or some such motive of economy the palace was sacrificed !

The only modern act to be compared with this is the destruction of the summer palace at Pekin. That, however, was an act of red-handed war, and may have been a political necessity. This was a deliberate act of unnecessary Vandalism- most discreditable to all concerned in it.

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which are wanting in the Agra example; while from the somewhat capricious admixture of red sandstone with white marble, it is far from possessing the same elegance and purity of effect. It is, however, one of the few mosques, either in India or elsewhere, that is designed to produce a pleasing effect externally. It is raised on a lofty basement and its three gateways, combined with the four-angle towers and the frontispiece and domes of the mosque itself, make up a design where all the parts are pleasingly subordinated to one another, but at the same time produce a whole of great variety and elegance. Its principal gateway cannot be compared with that at Futtehpore Sikri but it is a noble portal, and from its smaller dimensions more in harmony with the objects by which it is surrounded.

It is not a little singular, looking at the magnificent mosque which Akbar built in his palace at Futtehpore Sikri, and the Moti Musjid with which Shah Jehan adorned the palace at Agra that he should have provided no place of worship in his palace at Delhi. The little Moti mosque that is now found there, was added by Aurungazebe and, though pretty enough in itself, is very small, only 60 ft. square over all, and

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utterly unworthy of such a palace. There is no place of prayer, within the palace walls, of the time of Shah Jehan, nor apparently, any intention of providing one. The Jumma Musjid was so near, and so apparently part of the same design, that it seems to have been considered sufficient to supply this apparently anomalous deficiency.

Bernier thus wrote of the mosque :—

I grant that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed ; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste ; every part appears well contrived, properly executed, and correctly proportioned. With the exception of the three great domes and the numerous turrets which are all of white marbles, the mosque is of red colour, as if built with large slabs of red marble.

It was repaired by Government some 80 years ago, and recently restored under Government supervision, from the large pecuniary contributions of the Nawabs of Rampur and Bhawalpur.

We may here add the following brief account of the more important sights at Delhi, taken from *Tourist's India* by Mr. Eustace Reynolds-Ball (Swan, Sonneschein & Co., London).

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The Jumma Musjid is a magnificent temple of red sandstone and white marble. Though it is not, as is popularly supposed, the largest mosque in the world, it is certainly one of the most imposing. Its proportions are colossal, though artists find fault with its lack of balance. Indeed, like St. Mark's at Venice, it requires all its spaciousness to make up for its lack of height. But no mosque in the world, except that of Futtehpore Sikri, possesses such splendid portals as the three gateways of the Jumma Musjid, each approached by a noble flight of steps.

The size of the court-yard adds much to the dignity of the building, and suggests the Haram-es Sherif of Jerusalem. This mosque may be described as the National or Metropolitan Mosque of the Moslems in India, as the Hassan Mosque in Cairo is the National Mosque of Egypt. It is placed under the direct control of the Government and has been thoroughly restored within recent years. The history of the Jumma Musjid is inscribed in panels near the principal entrance, though travellers are usually told by the guides that these are quotations from the Koran. Indeed, some guides, evidently anxious to go one better than their *confréres*, have been

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known to assert unblushingly that the panels contain the whole of the Koran !

In a subsidiary mosque are preserved some greatly venerated relics of Mohammed which can be seen by the curious. These include the Prophet's slipper, his footprint, miraculously impressed in a stone, and what is apparently the most precious relic of all, enshrined in a silver casket, a hair (of a flaming red tint) from the Prophet's beard. Of more real interest is a beautiful copy of the Koran, one of the oldest extant, dating from the seventh century.

The spacious area, with its congeries of buildings, palace, pavilions, mosques, barracks, Government buildings, etc., which is known as the Fort, is, like the Alhambra or the Kremlin, a city within a city. There is so much of interest to be seen here that those with little time to spare should confine themselves to the two Halls of Audience and the Pearl Mosque.

In the Diwan-i-Aum (Hall of Public Audience) the mosaic work in the throne recess is extraordinarily rich and splendid. We have not here, as in the Alhambra, merely stucco and paint, but mosaics in precious stones of flowers, fruit, and birds, the work of the erratic genius and

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adventurer, Austin de Bordeaux, the favourite of the Emperor Shah Jehan.

Here stood the famous Peacock Throne, which ancient travellers used to call the eighth wonder of the world. It owes its name to the two hybrid birds, of a species quite unknown to the ornithologist, perched on the pinnacles. They bore a faint resemblance to peacocks, whence followed the adoption of the peacock as a badge of Indian Empire. The expanded tails, thickly studded with sapphires, rubies, emeralds, etc., inlaid so as to represent the exact colours of the living bird, formed the back of the throne. Between the peacocks was a parrot, as large as life carved out of a single emerald. This throne is (or rather was, for experts declare that very little of the ancient throne remains), no doubt, of immense value, the lowest estimate being two millions sterling. In shape it resembles rather a state bed than a throne. It is made entirely of gold—steps, sides, and legs—and is artistically chased and encrusted with countless precious stones. However, this remarkable chair of state is at Teheran (having been carried off with other treasure by Nadir Shah) and not at Delhi, and therefore could not grace the Coronation Durbar

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of 1903. Still, one cannot help thinking of the deep impression that would have been made on the Indian mind if the Viceroy could have received the feudatory princes of our great Eastern Empire, seated on a throne which for centuries was the outward symbol and the embodiment of Imperial rule.

Some of the mosaic panels in the throne recess are wanting, having been removed by the English after the Mutiny, and are now to be seen in the South Kensington Museum. The present juncture would seem a suitable opportunity for replacing them, and thus making some reparation for what some must consider an act of gross Vandalism. Thanks to the urgent representations of Lord Curzon, the finest of these, the famous "Orpheus Panel," has recently been restored to its old position.

Enormous sums have recently been spent in regilding, renovating the mosaics, and generally restoring the architectural and decorative glories of Shah Jehan's earthly paradise, so that visitors will now be able to realise better what these splendid halls looked like when Akbar or Shah Jehan sat on the Peacock Throne.

After the splendours of this hall one may be

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excused for anticipating something of an anti-climax in the next Audience Hall, the Diwan-i-Khas. One would suppose that the acme of magnificent decoration had been reached, but these apprehensions will be ill-founded. This Hall of Private Audience incontestably excels the other Diwan for beauty and richness and decoration. The much-quoted Persian distich—

> "If there be a paradise on earth,
> It is this, it is this, it is this"—

which is inscribed over the fretted and brilliantly inlaid arches seems to give the true note. The glories of these wonderful halls seem to defy analytical description as much as do those of the Taj Mahal, but one writer at least (Mr. G. W. Steevens) has successfully essayed the task.

"The whole is all white marble, asheen in the sun, but that is the least part of the wonder. Walls and ceilings, pillars, and many pointed arches are all inlaid with richest, yet most delicate, colour; gold cornices and scrolls and lattices frame traceries of mauve and pale green and soft azure. What must it have been, you ask yourself, when the Peacock Throne blazed with emeralds and sapphires, rubies and diamonds, from the now

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empty pedestal, and the plates of burnished silver reflected all its glories from the roof."

The Diwan-i-Khas is certainly the most historically interesting of any of the halls of the Palace. Here in May 1857, the Sepoy rebels declared the *roi faineant*, Bahadur Shah, King of Delhi, Emperor of India, and it was in this hall that, a few months later, he was tried and condemned to exile in Burma. Here took place the grand ball given to the present Emperor of India (then Prince of Wales) by the army in January 1876, just a twelvemonth before the assumption of the title Kaiser-i-Hind by the late Queen Victoria.

Finally, this hall was the scene of one of the most brilliant functions in connection with the Coronation Durbar of January 1903.

The exquisite Pearl mosque is emphatically an architectural gem, for purity and elegance inferior only to its sister Mosque of Agra, the famous Pearl Mosque of Shah Jehan, a building of unsurpassable beauty. It is composed of white marble, and each slender column bears an embossed lotus. We have now seen the two glories of Delhi, the Great Mosque and the Fort and Palace of the Moghul Emperors, but we must not forego

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one of the most characteristic sights of Delhi, its streets and bazaars.

To understand what native life is, the tourist should spend an hour or two without any fixed goal in the Chandni Chauk, usually called Silver Street. This is the Mooski of Delhi, though, unlike that famous Cairene highway, the Chandni Chauk is a fairly wide avenue. The picturesqueness is not so much in the buildings, which lack the artistic outlines of those in the Mooski, as in the natives themselves. A striking feature of the street life is the extraordinary variety of colour, though this, indeed, the visitor fresh from the Bombay bazaars expects as a matter of course. This living mosaic has at first a bewildering effect on the spectator, but after a while this kaleidoscopic crowd can be resolved into separate units, each unit being an independent blend of orange and magenta, green and violet, or silver and scarlet. Extremely picturesque are the women as they glide through the throng, carrying water jars or brass lotas on their heads, their silver anklets jingling faintly. Then there is great variety in the animal and vehicular traffic. An elephant stalks along with heavy dignity, picking his way among a procession of gaily painted ekkas

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and carts drawn by sleek bullocks, like an ocean liner among a fleet of barges and ferry boats. The genuine native shops, as opposed to those which concern themselves chiefly with tourists, are feasts of colour, the goods as often as not being spread out on the ground, the proprietor and his assistants squatting among the wares and occasionally calling out their merits. In short, these street and bazaar scenes have a strong fascination for the observant traveller. What will probably impress the artistic visitor is the natural love of picturesque effect, and the correct taste in colour possessed by the Hindus. In spite of the extraordinary variety of colours to be seen in the streets, one seldom sees any "colour discords."

Very striking too are the bizarre contrasts between the Oriental atmosphere of the City of the Moghuls and the latest development of civilisation afforded by the electric trams.

MUTINY SITES.

As regards the "Mutiny Sites," Mr. Reynolds-Ball writes :—

The "Mutiny Sites," or, to be precise, those which commemorate the many glorious episodes of the siege and assault of Delhi, are, of course,

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of surpassing interest to every Englishman, and all visitors, except the small minority with whom the archæological and historical features of "Old Delhi" are of primary importance, will not be content with less than a day for this pilgrimage.

All are supposed to be familiar with the story of this great siege, so any recapitulation of its salient features would be superfluous. It is a mistake to regard the siege of Delhi as but a single and comparatively unimportant episode in the great rebellion—a single canto, so to speak, in the great epic of the Mutiny. On the taking of the Imperial city depended the reconquest of India, and round its walls was fought the struggle for our supremacy in the East. Indeed, in the opinion of most politicians of the time it was agreed that a failure to take Delhi would mean the abandonment of India, with the exception of the great ports. No doubt, regarded solely as a military operation, the siege (which, indeed, was not strictly a siege, as the city was not, of course, invested) of Delhi is not of great importance, either from its duration or the number of troops engaged.

A climb to the top of the Mutiny Memorial on the Ridge will give visitors a good idea of the

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topography of this side of Delhi and of the various positions held by the troops. This monument itself is generally admitted to be an unworthy memorial of the Great Siege. It is certainly a badly proportioned and common-place structure, and has been unkindly compared to a badly drawn-out telescope. It would no doubt be considerably improved and rendered more dignified and pleasing if it were raised some twenty or thirty feet.

The position of the siege batteries on the Ridge have been carefully marked out. One which is of especial interest at the present day is the one near Ludlow Castle (at present the head-quarters of the Delhi Club), as it was to this battery that Lord Roberts was attached as a subaltern.

The great hero of the assault (General Nicholson) is now worthily commemorated in the city where he fell, as a statue has recently been erected to the famous "Nikalsain Sahib" on an appropriate site in the Nicholson Garden just outside the Kashmir Gate. It is on the very spot where, on the eventful 14th September, 1857, Nicholson was awaiting, at the head of his little

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column, the bugle announcing the blowing up of the Kashmir Gate.

The sculptor, Thomas Brock, R. A., (who is already represented in India by statues of Queen Victoria at Agra and Sir Richard Temple at Bombay), has chosen very felicitously this dramatic moment for his treatment of the famous General. The statue is one of Mr. Brock's finest creations, and is instinct with life and vigour. The monument is some distance from the actual spot (close to the Kabul Gate) where Nicholson received his fatal wound, but close by is the little cemetery in which he is buried.

Near the telegraph office a gateway of the old magazine is still standing. It has been preserved as a memorial, an inscription giving details of the heroic deed it commemorates.

Then the tourist should not omit, in his pilgrimage of the Mutiny Sites, to inspect the new memorial to the telegraph operators who at the peril of their lives remained at their post to warn the authorities at Umballa and Lahore. The inscription closes with the famous words of Sir Robert Montgomery: "The electric telegraph has saved India."

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The real history of this famous telegram has recently been revealed through the discovery, in 1906, among the old Government Records preserved in Lahore, of the original telegram. The message runs as follows:—

"Date, 11th May, 1857, from Umballa, to all stations: the following just received from Delhi: we must leave office. All the bungalows are being burnt down by the sepoys of Meerut. They came in this morning. We are off, don't roll today. Mr. C. Todd is dead—we think he went out this morning and has not returned yet. We heard that nine Europeans were killed. Goodbye."

This message was despatched by the signaller at Delhi to the signaller at Umballa. A copy of it was taken that same afternoon to Major-General Sir H. Barnard, C. B., Commanding Sirhind District, and he sent on a copy by post to Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, who happened to be temporarily at Rawalpindi, and another copy to General Anson, Commander-in-Chief at Simla. The message was also wired to all stations, and the copy which reached Sir John Lawrence at Rawalpindi is that still preserved among the Secretariat's records.

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The phrase " Don't roll to-day", means "Don't ring us," for the message is not official but merely a conversation between the signallers along the wire.

Another relic of the siege is an outhouse in the compound of the Delhi Bank, where Mr. Beresford, the manager, with his wife and daughters, made a heroic, but unsuccessful, stand against a horde of Delhi rebels. Surely this also is worthy of a commemorative tablet.

This supremely interesting pilgrimage might be appropriately concluded with a visit to St. James' Memorial Church near the Kashmir Gate, full of monuments and memorials to those who fell in the Mutiny. This church has a curious history. It was built by the famous Colonel Skinner, C. B. The founder was a remarkably tolerant and catholic-minded man, for he simultaneously endowed a Mosque for the Mahomedans and a temple for the Hindus ! One is glad to find, however, from a tablet in the church, that on his death-bed Colonel Skinner decided personally in favour of Christianity.

But, after all, the grandest memorial of the siege is the Kashmir Gate itself, and that battered curtain wall between the Kashmir Gate and the

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Mori Gate. This wall, like the Lucknow Residency, has been left untouched, certainly a manifestation of good taste and true sentiment on the part of the authorities, which goes far to make up for the gross Vandalism of dismantling the place of the Moghul kings to make room for barracks and officers' quarters.

The Kashmir Gate and Breach serve to show the execution done by the siege batteries on the Ridge during the few days before the glorious assault of 14th September, 1857. It will be noticed that for many yards the parapet of the walls on either side has been stripped off to facilitate the storming of the breach.

The blowing up of the Kashmir Gate is, perhaps, the most dramatic as well as the most heroic of all the innumerable glorious feats of arms in the Mutiny. It was one of the forlornest of "forlorn hopes," with the exception, perhaps, of the blowing up of the Delhi magazine, throughout the great Indian Rebellion.

Reading the restrained and cut-and-dried official report of this heroic episode, it is difficult to fully realise the noble courage and devotion to duty and absolute indifference to life, shown by the little band of five (Lieutenants Salkeld

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and Home and three sergeants) in what seemed a thousand to one chance. But the mere fact that three out of the five perished indicates the enormous risk. Let us look at the arduous conditions. In the face of a hail of bullets from the walls the devoted band had to affix several bags of powder to the gate and light the quick fuse. Even if they escaped being shot down, they would be blown to pieces by the explosion unless they could get under cover within thirty seconds or so. Indeed, as it turned out, only those who had escaped the bullets during the operation, and were able to fling themselves into the ditch before the explosion, escaped with their lives. The actual gateway, it should be explained, was so masked and protected by outworks that it was out of reach of the batteries; consequently the terribly hazardous operation of blowing down the gate by a storming party was absolutely necessary. This fact is usually omitted in the histories of the siege.

This thrilling scene is vividly and graphically described under the guise of fiction by Mrs. F. A. Steel in her famous Mutiny novel, "On the Face of the Waters." This description I am kindly permitted to quote :

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"Home of the Engineers first with two sergeants, a native *havildar*, and ten Punjabee sappers, running lightly, despite the twenty-five pound powder bags they carried. Behind them, led by Salkeld, were the firing party and a bugler. All running under the hail of bullets, faster as they fell faster, as men run to escape a storm; but these courted it, though the task had been set for night, and it was now broad daylight.

"What then? They could see better. See the outer gateway open, the footway of the drawbridge destroyed, the inner door closed save for the wicket.

"'Come on,' shouted Home, and was across the bare beams like a boy, followed by the others.

"Incredible darling! What did it mean? The doubt made the scared enemy close the wicket hastily. So against it, at the rebels' very feet, the powder bags were laid. True, one sergeant fell dead with his; but as it fell against the gates his task was done.

"'Ready, Salkeld!—your turn,' sang out young Home from the ditch, into which, the bags laid, the fuse set, he dropped unhurt. So, across the scant foothold came the firing party, its leader

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holding the port-fire. But the paralysis of amazement had passed; the enemy, realising what the audacity meant, had set the wicket wide. It bristled now with muskets; so did the parapet.

"'Burgess!—your turn,' called Salkeld as he fell, and passed the port-fire to the corporal behind him. Burgess, *alias* Grierson—someone perchance retrieving a past under a new name—took it, stooped, then with a half-articulate cry either that it was "right" or "out," fell back into the ditch dead. Smith, of the powder party—lingering to see the deed done—thought the latter, and, matchbox in hand, sprang forward, cuddling the gate for safety as he struck a light. But it was not needed. As he stooped to use it, the port-fire of the fuse exploded in his face, and, half-blinded, he turned to plunge headlong for escape into the ditch. A second after the gate was in fragments.

"'Your turn, Hawthorne!' came that voice from the ditch. So the bugler, who had braved death to sound it, gave the advance. Once, twice, thrice, lest the din from the breaches should drown it. Vain precaution, not needed either; for the sound of the explosion was enough.

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That thousand on the road was hungering to be no whit behind the others, and with a wild cheer the stormers made for the gate."

The city has been described by many writers and in many different ways. For a good pen picture of it we must turn to Mr. Perceval Landon's *Under The Sun* :—

Delhi, the mistress of every conqueror of India, Aryan or Afghan, Persian, English or Mogul, remains unconquered still. Over twenty square miles of sun-baked plain lie out the debris of her many pasts, relics of her dead and gone masters, some perfect still, some once more crumbling back into the levels of red-yellow marl that have alternately fed and housed, and fed and housed again forgotten generations of men. Yet Delhi lives. Like some huge crustacean, she has shed behind her, her own outgrown habitations, as she has crawled northwards from Tughlakabad and Lalkot, through Dinpana and Ferozabad, till the long, red lizard of the Ridge barred her way, and now she suns herself, a raffle of narrow and congested byways, beneath the crimson walls of Shah Jehan's great palace-fort. But Delhi is more than her streets and temples. You may go round about her and

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count her towers; you may tramp from the Jumma Musjid to the Fort, from the Fort to the Pillar, from the Pillar to Humaion's Tomb and the great Minar; and when all is seen you will understand that these things do no honour to Delhi; it is Delhi that doubles their significance, and that of all that is found within her wide borders. Inscrutable and undeniable, her claim is different from that of all other towns of India, for she has no rival in greatness from the mountains to the sea, and all men know that whoso holds Delhi holds India. A wide and almost waste plain stretches along the eastern bank of a sandy expanse of river-bed. In the far distance low violet hills hem in the horizon, and almost every acre of the plain between the river and the hills bears its own monument of Delhi's bygone days. In among the tangles of thorn-bush and mimosa, where no living thing passes by save a wandering buffalo or the shadow of a kite wheeling high up in the sun, the walls and terraces of deserted temples crumble, and the white datura or the raw yellow acacia flourishes beside the altar stones. Here and there an arch springs forty feet to where a bird-borne pipal-plant slowly threatens a lingering keystone

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and an azure-necked peacock scratches among the rotting stumps of last year's self-sown Indian corn.

Beyond the hard white shaded road—the only serviceable and well-kept thing in all the landscape—rises in a garden the dome of an ostentatious tomb. Some servant of an Emperor, some Emperor himself it may be, who sleeps soundly in his grave, all unconscious that the city he believed so abiding and so loyal has drifted far from him and his all-powerful dynasty, and now darkens the northward sky with the smoke of factory chimneys, and of locomotives straining across the iron-bridged Jumna. Far away to the south still stands the shaft raised by the Slave-Emperor from Turkestan, and underneath it the iron pillar of an earlier "conqueror of the universe" bears witness yet to its Royal maker's foolishness. Tughlakabad, hard by, is given over to the jackal and the cobra and the owl—the very bats have found in it no ceiling for their foul nestings. Lalkot lies a weed-grown fold of scattered half-hewn stone and mud; it needs an antiquarian to guess where here and there a gate may once have pierced the vaunted fortifications of old. Indraprastha is there still, but she has given up

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the struggle against fate, and her cornices and parapets fall unheeded across her exits and her entrances. Only the Grand Trunk Road endures between and beneath the shadows of the heavy banyans above, whose leaves are whitened daily by the dust-shuffling bullock-carts, just as when Shah Jehan's vast equipage trailed slowly into his new capital from that old one, which had become a burden upon his heart too heavy for him to bear. A few minarets have pierced the skyline for some time, but as one follows along its clear metalled strip, Delhi itself—Delhi, that is, of to-day—rise flat and uncomely behind her long, low, fortified and battlemented walls. Outside, the glacis is clear, save for a few yellow-flowered bebels and a crumbling chaitya or two; inside there is the well-remembered jostle and stench of every native quarter of the East, and so through eight-foot thoroughfares below jutting eaves and, rarely, dirty balconies, one reaches the one great street that cleaves the town in halves, the famous Chandni Chauk.

Meagre, ramshackle houses—one-storeyed, and plastered with torn paper, their dirty blue paint smeared over decayed whitewash—lean one against the other, and expose on their vermin-

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haunted walls and raised floors cheap European goods or trays of fly-blown native sweets, bowls of chillies or onions, framed oleographs of gods or English princes, American nickel clocks or scrap-iron heaps. In between them some brick and mortar missionary station puts out its nigh-hopeless appeal, or some native chemist advertises his willingness to practise indifferently the medical system of either East or West. But the real shops of the "Silver Street" are those which make little show to the public eye. You can hardly believe that those unpretentious little cabins, where the scarlet-teethed shopmen in alpaca coats smile upon you as you pass, have within call half the jewels of India. Down the middle of the Chandni Chauk runs a line of branching banyans—such as Tavernier found useful in his trade, for he says that one can judge the water of a diamond best in the dappled shade of a leafy tree—their trunks all mud below where the bhisti sprinkles, all dust above, and at the end of them, across the burnt grass of the Maidan, rise the dusty crimson walls of the fort."

Not less interesting as a word picture is Mr. G. W. Steevens' chapter on 'Sights of Shahjehanabad :—

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Let us go back to the city. Here at least is the Jumma Musjid, the great mosque, saved complete out of the storms—a baby of little more than two hundred years, to be sure, but still something. It is said to be the largest mosque in the world— a vast stretch of red sandstone and white marble and gold upstanding from a platform reached on three sides by flights of steps so tall, so majestically wide, that they are like a stone mountain tamed into order and proportion at an emperor's will. Above the brass-mounted doors rise red portals so huge that they almost dwarf the whole—red galleries above them, white marble domes above them, white marble minarets rising higher yet, with pillars and cupolas and gilded pinnacles above all. Beside the gateways the walls of the quadrangle seem to creep along the ground; then, at the corners, rise towers with more open chambers, more cupolas, and gilded pinnacles. Within, above the bloistered quadrangle, bulge three pure white domes—not hemispheres, like Western domes, but complete globes, only sliced away at the base and tapering to a spike at the top—and a slender minaret flanks each side.

The whole, to Western eyes, has a strange effect. Our own buildings are tighter together, gripped

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and focussed more in one glance; over the Jumma Musjid your eye must wander, and then the mind must connect the views of the different parts. If you look at it near you cannot see it all; for it is low and seems to straggle. The West could hardly call it beautiful: it has proportion, but not compass. Therefore it does not abase you, as other great buildings do; somehow you have a feeling of patronage towards it. Yet it is most light and graceful with all its bulk: it seems to suit India, thus spread out to get its fill of the warm sun. It looks rich and lavish, as if space were of no account to it.

Between this mosque and the Jumna river stands the fort—the ancient stronghold and palace of the Moghul emperors. A towering wall encloses it, Titanic slabs, always of the same red sandstone, moated and battlemented. You go in under the great Lahore Gate—its massiveness is lightened by more domes and arches, more gilt and marble on top of it,—you come in—alas and alas!—to barracks and married quarters and commissariat stores. You look for turquoised hubble-bubbles, and you find the clay of Private Atkins. It is disillusion, and yet it is very Delhi. The remains of Aurungzebe's palaces are lost

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among the imperial plant of Aurungzebe's inheritors.

Yet search diligently for the remains; since, except in Agra, you will never find anything like it in the world. You come first to the Hall of Audience, an open redstone portico with a wall at its back, and are about to pass it. The gleam of marble arrests you. Within, against the wall, is a slab of white marble; above it a throne of the same with pillars and canopy. But it is not the marble you look at—it is the wonderful work that veins it; the throne is embroidered with mosaic. And the wall behind is a sheet of miniature pictures—birds and flowers and fruit—all picked out in paint and precious stones. You marvel, but pass on to the Hall of Private Audience. Then, indeed, your breath catches with amazement.

It is an open, oblong portion or pavilion on columns, with an arched and domed squarer pavilion beside it, whence a bay-window steps out of the wall to look over the swamps and the river below. The whole is all white marble asheen in the sun, but that is the least part of wonder. Walls and ceilings, pillars and many-pointed arches, are all inlaid with richest, yet

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most delicate colour. Gold cornices and scrolls and lattices frame traceries of mauve and pale green and soft azure. What must it have been, you ask yourself, when the Peacock Throne blazed with emerald and sapphire, ruby and diamond, from the now empty pedestal, and the plates of burnished silver reflected its glories from the roof? The Marathas melted down the ceiling, and Nadir Shah took away the throne to Persia; yet, even as it is, the opulence of it leaves you gasping. It is not gaudy, does not even astonish you with its costliness: it is simply sumptuous and luxurious, surpassing all your dreams.

After this chaste magnificence you may refresh your eye with the yet purer beauty of the Moti Musjid, the Pearl Mosque—a fabric smaller than a racquet-court, walled with cool grey-veined marble, blotched here and there blood-red. Just a court of walls moulded in low relief, with a double row of three arches supporting a triple-domed roof at its end—simple, spotless, exquisite.

You have passed below the cloud-capped towers, out of the gorgeous palaces—and here is Silver Street, Delhi's main thoroughfare. The pageant fades, and you plunge into the dense squalor

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which is also India. Along the houses run balconies and colonnades; here also you see vistas of pillars and lattice-work, but the stone is dirty, the stucco peels, the wood lacks paint. The houses totter and lean together. The street is a mass of squatting, variegated people; bulls, in necklaces of white and yellow flowers, sleep across the pavements, donkeys stroll into the shops, goats nibble at the vegetables piled for sale down the centre of the street, a squirrel is fighting with a caged parrot. Here is a jeweller's booth, gay with tawdry paint; next, a baker's, with the shopkeeper snoring on his low counter, and everything an inch thick with dust. At one step you smell incense; at the next, garbage.

Inimitable, incongruous India! And coming out of the walls, still crumbling from Nicholson's cannon, you see mill-chimneys blackening the sky. Delhi, with local cotton, they tell you, can spin as fine as Manchester. One more incongruity! The iron pillar, the ruined mosque, the jewelled halls, the shabby street, and now the clacking mill. That is the last of Delhi's myriad reincarnations.

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CHAPTER VI.

MONUMENTS AT DELHI.

From the sight-seer's point of view the whole of the archæological and architectural remains may be grouped under :—

1. Old Indraprastha, of which nothing remains.

2. Firozabad of Firoz Shah Tughlak (c. 1380 A. D.) adjoining modern Delhi on the south.

3. Indrapat of Humayun and Sher Shah (on the site of a still older, but doubtless small city), two miles South of modern Delhi (c. 1540 A. D.)

4. Siri (now Shahpur), four miles south-west of Indrapat (c. 1300 A. D.)

5. Jahanpanah, or the space between Siri and Old Delhi, which became gradually occupied, and was ultimately connected by walls with the cities north and south of it (c. 1330 A. D.)

6. Old Delhi, or the Fort of Rai Pithora, the original Delhi of the Pathan invaders in the twelfth century, and containing the Kutub Minar, three miles to the south-east of Siri, (1150—1350 A. D.)

7. Tughlakabad, four miles south-east of Siri, and five miles east of Old Delhi, built by Muhamad Tuglak Shah (c. 1320 A. D.)

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The following general description of the architectural glories of Delhi is taken from the new *Imperial Gazetteer*:—

The architectural glories of Delhi are famous alike in Indian and European literature. It is impossible in a brief notice like the present to attempt any adequate description of them. They are described in Mr. Fergusson's *History of India and Eastern Architecture* (1876), in Mr. Fanshawe's *Delhi Past and Present* (1902), and in many other works. The palace of Shah Jahan, perhaps less picturesque and more sober in tone than that of Agra, has the advantage of being built on a more uniform plan, and by the most magnificent of the royal builders of India. It forms a parallelogram, measuring 1,600 feet east and west by 3,202 feet north and south, exclusive of the gateways. Passing the deeply-recessed portal, a vaulted hall is entered, rising two storeys, 375 feet long, like the nave of a gigantic Gothic cathedral—'the noblest entrance,' says Mr. Fergusson, 'to any existing palace.' Facing this entrance is the Naubat Khana or 'music hall,' and beyond is the great court of the palace, in the middle of which stands the Diwan-i-am or 'hall of public audience.' Behind this again is a court containing the Rang Mahal

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or 'painted chamber.' North of this central range of buildings stands the Diwan-i-khas or 'private audience hall,' which forms 'if not the most beautiful, certainly the most ornamented of all Shah Jahan's buildings.' It overhangs the river, and nothing can exceed the delicacy of its inlaid work or the poetry of its design. It is on the walls of this hall that the famous inscription runs, 'If there is a heaven on earth, it is this—it is this!' South of the central range of buildings an area, measuring about 1,000 feet each way, was occupied by the harem and private apartments of the palace, covering, consequently, more than twice the area of the Escurial, or, in fact, of any palace in Europe.

The buildings in the native city are chiefly of brick, well-built, and substantial. The smaller streets are narrow and tortuous, and in many cases end in *culs-de-sac*. On the other hand, no city in India has finer streets than the main thoroughfares of Delhi, ten in number, thoroughly drained, metalled, and lighted. The principal thoroughfare, the Chandni Chauk, or 'silver street,' leads eastwards from the Fort to the Lahore Gate, three-quarters of a mile long by 74 feet broad. Throughout the greater part of its length, a double

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row of trees runs down its centre on both sides of a raised path, which has taken the place of the masonry aqueduct that in former days conducted water from the canal into the palace. A little to the south of the Chandni Chauk is the Jama Masjid, or 'great mosque,' standing out boldly from a small rocky rising ground. Begun by Shah Jahan in the fourth year of his reign, and completed in the tenth, it still remains one of the finest buildings of its kind in India. The front courtyard, 450 feet square, surrounded by a cloister open on both sides, is paved with granite inlaid with marble, and commands a view of the whole city. The mosque itself, a splendid structure forming an oblong 261 feet in length, is approached by a magnificent flight of stone steps. Three domes of white marble rise from its roof, with two tall and graceful minarets at the corners in front. The interior of the mosque is paved throughout with white marble, and the walls and roof are lined with the same material. Two other mosques deserve a passing notice: the Kali Masjid or 'black mosque,' so called from the dark colour given to it by time, and supposed to have been built by one of the early Afghan sovereigns; and the mosque of Roshan-ud-daula. Among the

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more modern buildings may be mentioned the Residency, now occupied by the Government High School; the Town Hall, a handsome building in the Chandni Chauk, containing a Darbar hall with a good collection of pictures, a museum, and a public library; and the Church of St. James, built at a cost of £10,000 by Colonel Skinner, an officer well-known in the history of the East India Company. About half-way down the Chandni Chauk is a high clock-tower. North of the Chandni Chauk lie the Queen's Gardens. Beyond the city walls the civil lines stretch away on the north as far as the historic Ridge, about a mile outside. To the west and south-west considerable suburbs cluster outside the walls, containing the tombs of the imperial family. That of Humayun is a noble building of red sandstone with a dome of marble. It lies about 3½ miles from the Delhi Gate in a large garden of terraces, the whole surrounded by an embattled wall, with towers and four gateways. In the centre stands a platform about 20 feet high by 200 feet square, supported by cloisters, and ascended by four great flights of granite steps. Above rises the mausoleum, also a square, with a great dome of white marble in the centre. About a mile to the westward is another burying-ground,

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or collection of tombs and small mosques, some of them very beautiful. The most remarkable is perhaps the little chapel in honour of a celebrated Muhammadan saint, Nizam-ud-din, near whose shrine the members of the Mughal imperial family, up to the time of the Mutiny, lie buried, each in his own little enclosure, surrounded by very elegant lattice-work of white marble.

The palaces of the nobles, which formerly gave an air of grandeur to the city have for the most part disappeared. Their sites are occupied by structures of less pretension, but still with some elegance of architectural design. The city is now amply supplied with water; and much attention has of late been paid to cleanliness and sanitary requirements generally.

For further notes on the more important remains see Chapter VIII.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE STORMING OF DELHI.

The storming of Delhi on September 14, 1857, was a magnificent feat of arms. Capt. L. J. Trotter gives a graphic account of it in his *Life of John Nicholson*, the hero of the siege, from which the following is taken :—

Before daybreak on the eventful September 14, 1857, some 3,000 of Wilson's infantry were drawn up in three columns on the ground between the Ridge and Ludlow Castle, awaiting the signal for an advance. Nicholson himself was at their head, and everyone felt that under such a leader the victory was certain, against whatever odds. As Roberts stood 'on the crenellated wall which separated Ludlow Castle from the road,' he wondered, naturally enough, what was passing through Nicholson's mind. 'Was he thinking of the future, or of the wonderful part he had played during the past four months ?....At Delhi everyone felt that during the short time he had been with us, he was our guiding star, and that, but for his presence in the camp, the assault which he was

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about to lead would probably never have come off. . . . Any feeling of reluctance to serve under a captain of the Company's army, which had at first been felt by many, had been completely overcome by his wonderful personality. Each man in the force, from the General in command to the last-joined private soldier, recognised that the man whom the wild people of the frontier had deified, the man of whom Edwardes had said to Lord Canning, "If ever there is a desperate deed to be done in India, John Nicholson is the man to do it," was one who had proved himself beyond all doubt capable of grappling with the crisis through which we were passing, one to follow to the death.'*

The storming columns were ready for the work before them; but they had to wait until our batteries had cleared the breaches, which the enemy during the night had partially repaired. The first column, 1,000 strong, commanded by Nicholson himself, and made up from the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, the 75th Foot, and Green's Punjabis, was to carry the main breach and to scale the face of the Kashmir Bastion. On its left stood the second column of 850 men, from

* Lord Roberts.

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the 8th Foot, the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, and Rothney's Sikhs, with Brigadier Jones of the 61st Foot in command. Its first duty was to storm the breach in the Water Bastion. The third column, on the right and rear of the first, was commanded by Colonel Campbell of the 52nd Light Infantry, and consisted of the 52nd, the Kamaon Battalion, and the 1st Punjab Infantry, 950 men in all. This column was to rush in at the Kashmir Gate as soon as it had been blown open by our engineers.

These three columns, covered by the 60th Rifles, formed the left attack. A fourth column, under the gallant Major Reid, was to advance from the right of the ridge, and force its way through the Kishnganj suburb towards the Lahore Gate. It numbered about 860 men, from Reid's Own Gurkhas, the Guide Infantry, and the pickets left in camp ; beside several hundred of the Kashmir contingent, which had come in a few days before. Three engineers accompanied each column. A fifth or reserve column of 1,500 under Brigadier Longfield was formed out of the 61st Foot, Wilde's Punjab Infantry, the Biluch Battalion, the troops of the brave old Rajah of Jhind, and the 60th Rifles.

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Nicholson's own column now marched on into the Kudsia Bagh, while Jones's column turned off into the custom-house garden, and Campbell's men passed up the high road to the Kashmir Gate. At the head of this column moved the explosion party of two young engineer officers, Home and Salkeld, three sapper sergeants, Carmichael, Burgess, and Smith, and Bugler Hawthorne of the 52nd, who was to sound the advance when the gate had been blown in. Eight native sappers under Havildar Madhu carried the powder-bags with which their white comrades were to assay their perilous task.*

The sun had risen some way above the horizon when our heavy guns suddenly ceased firing. They had done their work, and the breaches were once more clear. Nicholson gave the signal for an advance. The 60th Rifles, with a loud cheer, dashed forward in skirmishing order, followed by the ladder parties of the first two columns. As our troops emerged from the low brushwood which lay between the Kudsia Bagh and the open slope of the *glacis*, they encountered a furious storm of musketry from front and flanks, which laid many a brave man low. But Nicholson strode on

* Cave-Browne; Forrest.

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unhurt and unheeding, as if death itself could not stand against him. In a few minutes the leading stormers were in the ditch with Nicholson, planting their ladders on the heaps of fallen masonry which nearly filled it. In a few minutes those who escaped the bullets and stones showered upon them clambered over the breaches in their front, and, with a wild exultant cheer, drove the Pandies before them in momentary rout*.

While the first two columns were clearing the ramparts from the Water Gate to the Kashmir Bastion, the explosion party under Home and Salkeld had succeeded, by force of sheer self-sacrificing heroism, in bursting open the Kashmir Gate after four of their number had fallen dead or wounded into the ditch. Once inside the shattered gate, Campbell's column drove the rebels from the main guard, and pushing on past the English church and along the broad Chandni Chauk—the street of silversmiths—found its progress stayed by a heavy fire from Delhi's great mosque, the Jamma Masjid, and the adjacent buildings. Nothing remained for Campbell but to fall back on the police station and the line of the church. Here, in the open space around the

* Bourchier; Innes; Cave-Browne.

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church, Longfield's reserves were already posted. They, too, had come in through the Kashmir Gate; and, clearing the rebels out of the college gardens, had occupied the neighbouring houses, and with two guns commanded all the approaches to the Kashmir Gate.*

Meanwhile a party of the 1st Fusiliers under the brave young Gerard Money had been ordered by Major Jacob to advance along the ramparts to their right. Money hastened on, fighting his way at times against heavy odds, driving the enemy out of the Shah Bastion, turning their own guns against them, and finally halting at the Kabul Gate. He had expected to be joined by the rest of his regiment on the way. But Nicholson had carried them off to the attack and capture of various buildings held by the enemy along the line of his advance. By this means he enabled Jones's column to push on before him towards the Kabul Gate, and hoist the British colours on the spot which Money had been the first to reach.†

An hour later Nicholson himself, with the toil-worn remnant of his troops, appeared at the

* Norman; Cave-Browne.
† Kaye; Innes.

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point beyond which no further advance was that day to be made. For the murderous repulse of Reid's column on its advance through Kishnganj had sadly diminished our fighting strength, and was now encouraging the mutineers to renewed resistance within the city. It had been part of Wilson's plan that the storming columns should clear and hold the ramparts as far westward as the Lahore Gate. Nicholson was bent on fulfilling his instructions to the last letter. But what would have been possible an hour or half an hour earlier on that sultry day could not, in the opinion of those around him, be prudently attempted now.

Beyond the Kabul Gate ran a lane which skirted the ramparts leading up to the Burn Bastion. Its left side was lined by the backs of mud huts, and further on by a few houses. No doors or windows opened into the lane. On the other side there was only a line of broad recesses surmounted by the rampart itself. Up this lane a few of the 1st Fusiliers had already ventured as far as the Burn Bastion, when the returning tide of mutineers constrained them to fall back *.

* Colonel Graydon's MS. Letter to Sir N. Chamberlain. Lord Roberts speaks of houses beyond the huts.

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A little later the fearless Jacob caught his death-wound in leading his Fusiliers against some guns which swept the rampart and the lane below it with showers of grape and shrapnel. A few brave fellows who spiked a gun or two were struck down the next moment, and Captain Greville withdrew his men from what seemed a hopeless task.*

It became clear, indeed, that the only way to win the bastion and the gateway beyond was to break through the huts and houses along the lane. Our men, in fact, had little strength or spirit left for another call upon their courage and endurance. They were utterly spent and worn out by the strain which that morning's work had placed upon energies severely tried by a week of open trenches and the poisonous air of the camp. The fierce excitement of the assault was over. They had 'stormed the gates of Hell,' had done their duty like good soldiers, and felt that, for the present, they could do nothing more.

But Nicholson, who had worked as hard as the meanest soldier, failed to realize the true condition of things. He called upon the 1st Fusiliers

* Innes.

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'to 'charge down the lane,' while the 75th were to 'charge along the ramparts and carry the position above.' Once again his men rushed forward, only to be driven back by the deadly hail of rifle-bullets and grape. Still, Nicholson would not give in. He had been reconnoitring the field outside the walls from the top of the Shah Bastion, and he longed to reach the Lahore Gate in time to secure an entrance for the fourth column. Collecting his men for one last effort, he marched proudly forward, waving his sword above his head and pointing it towards the foe in front. Two or three officers came close after him, one of whom, Captain—afterwards Colonel—Graydon, was doing duty with the 1st Fusiliers. But the men behind were slow in moving—too slow for their impetuous leader, who was by this time half-way up the lane.*

What followed must be told by Colonel Graydon. 'He found his troops checked; and it was while again encouraging the men, with his face towards them and his back to the enemy, that a shot, evidently fired from the Burn Bastion, struck him in the back, causing him to

* Cave-Browne; Kaye; Innes.

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reel round. Luckily the recess before alluded to was close by. Indeed, he was partly inside it, but not sufficiently sheltered from the enemy's fire. Fortunately also for him, a sergeant was at hand—probably an orderly—who immediately caught him, and laid him on the ground inside the recess, and tended him. I happened to be on the opposite side of the lane, and went across to Nicholson, and did what I could, giving him some brandy, which seemed to revive him. Thus we remained for some little time, when it occurred to me that the enemy would most likely gain confidence, and move down the lane, when Nicholson would fall an easy victim to their fury.

'I therefore suggested to Nicholson that he should let the sergeant and me remove him to a place of safety. He however declined, saying he should allow no man to remove him, but would die there.' Finding persuasion fruitless, Graydon 'judged it best to bring up assistance to him. So, leaving him in charge of the sergeant, I returned down the lane, meeting an officer and some men, to whom I mentioned Nicholson's state and the place where he was, and advised their hurrying up to his help; which I believe

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they hastened to do.' Shortly after, he met Nicholson's aide-de-camp, Captain Trench, who on hearing the sad news immediately went in search of assistance. About half an hour later Nicholson was brought back to the Kabul Gate, and Graydon learned from the faithful sergeant that his wounded commander wished to see him. 'I went across to him, found him in great suffering and gave him a little brandy, which evidently did him good. This was the last I saw of this gallant soldier, who was taken to the hospital in camp, where he lingered, I think, for a week before death put an end to his sufferings.'

At the moment of Nicholson's fall, several officers of the 1st Fusiliers had just been struck down, so that none but Graydon and the sergeant were at hand to help him. Graydon was now told that soon after his departure several others came up to assist the sorely wounded hero. But no one was allowed to touch him, except Captain Hay of the 60th Native Infantry, with whom, says another informant, he was not upon friendly terms. 'I will make up my difference with you, Hay,' he gasped out; 'I will let you take me back.' And so, under Hay's direction, John Nicholson was borne slowly back to the

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sheltering gateway, whence he was presently removed in a doolie to the field hospital below the ridge.

But his native carriers had small regard for the safety of their precious burden. By this time General Wilson, who had taken up his quarters in the church, was growing seriously alarmed about the issue of that morning's work. The failure of Reid's column, and the news that Reid himself had been badly wounded, were disheartening enough for a man of his temperament. But the sad tidings of Nicholson's fall, coupled with false reports about the death of Hope Grant and Tombs, drove him to the verge of despair, and he began to talk of withdrawing his troops from the positions they had already won. Roberts, who had now resumed his place on Wilson's staff, was sent off to 'find out the truth of these reports, and to ascertain exactly what had happened to No. 4 column and the cavalry on our right.'

On his way through the Kashmir Gate, Roberts noticed by the roadside 'a doolie without bearers, and evidently a wounded man inside. Dismounting to see what help he might render, he found to his 'grief and consternation that it was John Nicholson, with death written on his

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face. He told me that the bearers had put the doolie down and gone off to plunder; that he was in great pain, and wished to be taken to the hospital. He was lying on his back, no wound was visible, and but for the pallor on his face, always colourless, there was no sign of the agony he must have been enduring. On my expressing a hope that he was not seriously wounded, he said, "I am dying; there is no chance for me." The sight of that great man lying helpless and at the point of death was almost more than I could bear. Other men had daily died around me, friends and comrades had been killed beside me; but I never felt as I felt then—to lose Nicholson seemed to me at that moment to lose everything.'*

With no small difficulty, for the doolie-bearers and other camp-followers were busy plundering the nearest houses and shops, Roberts hunted up four men, whom he placed under charge of a sergeant of the 61st foot, bidding him see that Brigadier-General Nicholson was taken direct to the field hospital. This was the last that Roberts was to see of John Nicholson; for though he managed several times to ride over and inquire

* *Forty-one Years in India.*

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after the dying hero, he was never admitted to his bedside.

It was late in the afternoon when John Nicholson was brought into the field hospital. Besides the doolie in which he awaited his turn for surgical inspection, another doolie was presently set down. Its occupant, Charles Nicholson, had been badly wounded in leading Coke's Punjabis to the assault, and the shattered arm had since been amputated at the shoulder. Surgeon H. Buckle, who had assisted in this operation, had since gone to see John Nicholson and ask what he could do for his old acquaintance. He found the poor sufferer 'as collected and composed as usual, but very low, almost pulseless.' What struck him was Nicholson's face. 'It was always one of power; but then, in its calm, pale state, it was quite beautiful.'*

It was piteous to see the two brothers lying there so helplessly side by side in the prime of their stately manhood, looking sadly into each other's eyes, and exchanging their last words on this earth. 'Last words, I fancy, they must have been,' writes Dr. Mactier, 'for, as far as I can remember, they never saw each other again

* Buckle's letter to John Becher, quoted by Kaye.

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both being too severely wounded to be moved from their respective tents.'* From a child, indeed, Charles Nicholson had been John's favourite brother, and the letters he wrote to a friend after his own recovery show that in losing John he had lost his heart's idol and guiding star.

A little later John Nicholson was borne away to the camp on the ridge, where Dr. Mactier as staff-surgeon attended to him till within a day or two of his death. He at once called in Dr. Campbell Mackinnon of the Horse Artillery, a friend of Chamberlain's in the old Afghan days, in whom many besides Chamberlain had the greatest confidence. 'Nicholson's case,' says Dr. Mactier, 'was from the first a hopeless one, and it was a matter of surprise to his medical attendants that he survived even so long as he did. The nature of his wound—a shot through the lung—necessitated absolute quiet of mind and body; and we would fain have enforced complete silence upon him. All this it was impossible to carry out, for he would insist upon hearing how matters went on in the city, and would excite himself terribly over the news that was brought in from time to time.

* MS. Letter from Dr. Mactier.

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'Not only did he make comments and criticisms to friends about him, but he sent them to Sir John Lawrence and others at a distance, I had myself to act as amanuensis in conveying his views to Sir John. Professionally speaking, all this was of course wrong, and the cause of grave anxiety to his medical attendants. Still, we could only admire the man who seemed to think little of his own sufferings, and whose whole thoughts were absorbed in the success of the military operations*.'

Lieutenant Montgomerie of the Guides had helped to lift Nicholson out of his doolie on to a bed prepared for him in his own tent. As he kept on bathing the sufferer's temples with eau-de-cologne, Montgomerie saw that he 'was in fearful agony.' He had been shot through the body, and the blood was flowing from his side.' 'It was terrible,' he wrote, 'seeing the great strong man, who a few hours before was the life and soul of everything brave and daring, struck down in this way.....I could have followed him anywhere, so brave, cool, and self-possessed, and so energetic, you would have thought he was

* Letter from Dr. W. Mactier.

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made of iron. The shot that killed him was worth more to the Pandy than all the rest put together.*'

On the evening of that memorable day Chamberlain came over to see his poor friend from his post at Hindu Rao's, whence with Daly and a few other disabled comrades he had watched the fortunes of the fight, and prepared to hold the ridge with a handful of soldiers scarce fit for any sort of duty. Thanks, however, to the heroic steadiness of Hope Grant's cavalry brigade, and the desperate courage displayed by Tombs's gunners in covering the retreat of Reid's infantry. Chamberlain was free at last to go forth on his sorrowful errand. He found John Nicholson, 'lying stretched on a charpoy [native bed], helpless, as an infant, breathing with difficulty, and only able to jerk out his words in syllables at long intervals, and with pain....He asked me to tell him exactly what the surgeons said of his case; and after I had told him, he wished to know how much of the town was in our possession, and what we proposed doing. Talking was, of course, bad for him and prohibited, and the morphia, which was

* Kaye.

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given him in large doses, to annul pain and secure rest, soon produced a state of stupor.*

About 11 P. M., Chamberlain saw his friend again, before he himself returned for the night to his post of command at Hindu Rao's house. 'He was much the same; but feeling his skin to be chilled, I suppose from the loss of blood and two hand-punkahs going, I got him to consent to my covering him with a light Rampore blanket.'

What Wilson himself proposed to do on the evening of that momentous September 14 is well-known. When Roberts made his report of what had really occurred, his general seemed for the time a little happier. But presently, when he learned at how heavy a cost—1,170 killed and wounded out of 5,000 engaged—a part only of that day's programme had been accomplished, Wilson returned to his croaking, and talked once more about retiring to the ridge. Lord Roberts thinks that he would have carried out this 'fatal measure,' to which every officer on his staff was utterly opposed, and against which Chamberlain firmly protested, had not Baird Smith been at his elbow in front of Skinner's House, when Wilson asked him whether

* Letter to Sir Herbert Edwardes, quoted by Kaye.

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we could hold what we had won. 'We *must* hold on,' was the laconic answer of the Chief Engineer, whose indomitable spirit had borne him up through the pain of a recent wound and the weakness caused by a wasting disease*.

To fall back indeed at such a moment would have been sheer madness, while everything could be gained by holding on. Our success, however partial, was really decisive, for our men had won a footing inside the walls, from which nothing but their own folly or their leaders' blundering could dislodge them. To hold on was to go forward, until the last mutineer had been driven out of a stronghold whose fate was sealed on that September 14, 1857.

'Poor Nicholson was most dangerously wounded,' writes Hodson next day to his brother; 'at a time, too, when his services were beyond expression valuable.' His grief was shared by Wilson himself and the whole army. It was soon known throughout the Punjab that John Nicholson, 'our best and bravest,' had been badly wounded; and men's hearts were chilled in the midst of their rejoicing by fears for the safety of their wounded hero. For some days yet they

* Kaye; Lord Roberts.

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tried to hope against hope that a life so precious might be spared for the service of his country in her great need. 'What a time of suspense it is,' wrote Herbert Edwardes on the 16th, 'until more news can reach Peshawar.' He had already heard through John Lawrence that 'both the Nicholsons were severely wounded,' and with unspeakable anxiety he longed, yet dreaded, to hear more.*'

On September 15 the struggle within the city was maintained chiefly by our engineers and artillery; the former sapping their way from house to house, while our guns played from various points of our line upon the palace, the Magazine, and the old riverside fortress of Salimgarh. That evening Chamberlain was again at Nicholson's bedside. His poor friend 'breathed more easily, and seemed altogether easier—indeed, his face had changed so much for the better, that I began to make myself believe that it was not God's purpose to cut him off in the prime of manhood....On this evening, as on the previous, his thoughts centred in the struggle then being fought out inside Delhi; and on my telling him that a certain officer had alluded

*Lady Edwardes.

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to the possibility of our having to retire, he said, in his indignation, "Thank God! I have strength yet to shoot him, if necessary.*

The natural man broke out in that fierce denouncement of a commander who could talk thus openly of abandoning a field, already half won. Such conduct seemed to John Nicholson at least as criminal as that of an officer deserting his post in the face of the enemy. How strongly he felt on this subject came out in the message sent at his dictation to Sir John Lawrence, begging him by his own authority to depose Wilson and appoint Chamberlain in his stead.†

Among the ruins of the cantonment was a small bungalow, a part of which had escaped destruction by the Mutineers on May 11. Hither John Nicholson, who had complained of the heat in his tent, was removed next morning under his good friend's careful supervision. The bungalow was not far off, and his removal was effected without causing him much pain. He expressed his thankfulness for the change, and said he was 'very comfortable.' He dictated to Chamberlain the following message for Herbert Edwardes :

* Chamberlain's Letter, quoted by Kaye.
† Bosworth Smith.

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'Tell him I should have been a better man if I had continued to live with him, and our heavy public duties had not prevented my seeing more of him privately. I was always the better for a residence, however short, with him and his wife. Give my love to them both.'

'Up to this time,' writes Chamberlain, 'there was still a hope for him, though the two surgeons attending him were anything but sanguine. He himself said he felt better, but the doctors said his pulse indicated no improvement; and notwithstanding the great loss of blood from internal hemorrhage, they again thought it necessary to bleed him.....One of the surgeons attending used to come daily to the town to dress my arm, and from him I always received a trustworthy bulletin. From the 17th to the 22nd he was sometimes better and sometimes worse; but he gradually became weaker, and on the afternoon of the latter date, Dr. Mactier came to tell me that there was little or no hope. On reaching him I found him much altered for the worse in appearance, and very much weaker—indeed, so weak, that if left to himself; he fell off into a state of drowsiness, from which nothing aroused him but the application of smelling-salts and

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stimulants. Once aroused he became quite himself, and on that afternoon he conversed with me for half an hour on several subjects as clearly as ever. He, however, knew and felt that he was dying, and said that this world had now no interest for him.'

Nicholson regretted that he had been unable to make his will the day before the assault, and was anxious to get that business done without more delay. But feeling tired just then with so much talking, and too weak to keep his senses collected, he begged his good friend to come again that evening, and arouse him for the purpose in view. And then he dictated another message for Herbert Edwardes. "Tell him that, if at this moment a good fairy were to grant me a wish, my wish would be to have him here next to my mother.' When these words had been written down, he said, 'Tell my mother that I do not think we shall be unhappy in the next world. God has visited her with a great affliction; but tell her she must not give way to grief.*

Chamberlain at once telegraphed to Edwardes that Nicholson was worse. 'He has directed a

* Kaye.

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few kind words to be said to you. I fear a letter from Peshawar may not reach in time. Send me any message you wish given to him. He talks much of you both.' Feeling that the worst was come, Edwardes telegraphed back, 'Give John Nicholson our love in time and eternity. God ever bless him! I do not cease to hope and pray for him as a dear brother*.'

It comforted the dying hero to know that he had not fought and bled in vain. Day after day our troops had carried one strong position after another, until on the morning of the 21st a grand salute from our guns proclaimed that the whole of Delhi was once more in British keeping. Later in the same day the capture of the fugitive king by Hodson gave fresh significance to the achievements on the previous week. It was a marvellous feat of arms which its foremost hero had lived to see accomplished, a feat which broke the neck of a wide-spreading rebellion, and ensured the safety of our countrymen in the Punjab. Thenceforth they could breathe more freely, as men awaking from a hideous nightmare.

But their anxiety for Nicholson had not been allayed. 'It did not sound like a victory,

* Lady Edwardes.

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Edwardes wrote, 'when the news of our success in the opening assault was coupled with the tidings of General Nicholson's fall. And each day, as fresh news from Delhi travelled up the Punjab, the question still was, 'Is Nicholson any better? On the 20th it was known that Delhi had fallen, and 'there seemed a hope that Nicholson might live.'*

Late in the evening of the 22nd, when asked if he could dictate his will, Nicholson replied that he felt too weak to do so, and begged that it might be deferred until the morrow, when he hoped to be feeling stronger. 'But death,' says Chamberlain, 'had now come to claim him. Every hour he became weaker and weaker, and the following morning his soul passed away to another and a better world.'

On the morning of the 24th the remains of John Nicholson were borne to the grave prepared for them in the new burial-ground near Ludlow Castle, opposite the Kashmir Gate and the breach which he had been among the first to crown. A small company of sorrowing friends and followers, headed by Neville Chamberlain, followed the body to its last resting-place, but a

* Edwardes, *Official Report.*

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few yards from one of the breaching-batteries which had cleared the way for our storming columns. As the coffin was lowered from the gun-carriage into the grave, the solemn funeral-service was read by the Reverend Mr. Rotton, the Chaplain to the Force. Nothing of pomp or show marked the obsequies of India's greatest soldier. No cannon saluted the dead; no band played solemn music; no volleys of musketry rattled over his open grave.

Over his grave was placed, under Chamberlain's direction, 'a solid slab of marble, resting upon a basement of two perfectly plain steps of gray or stone-coloured limestone.' The monument would thus, in Chamberlain's words, be 'simple, and chaste, and solid, and such, I hope, as his relations and friends would desire.' On its surface were chiselled these words:

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THE GRAVE

OF

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN NICHOLSON

WHO

LED THE ASSAULT AT DELHI

BUT FELL IN THE HOUR OF VICTORY

MORTALLY WOUNDED

AND DIED SEPTEMBER 23, 1857

AGED 35.

Fewer words would have satisfied Chamberlain himself. 'Our hero,' he wrote to Edwardes when the tomb was finished, 'needs but to have his name engraved upon his tomb, for it to be respected by all ranks.'

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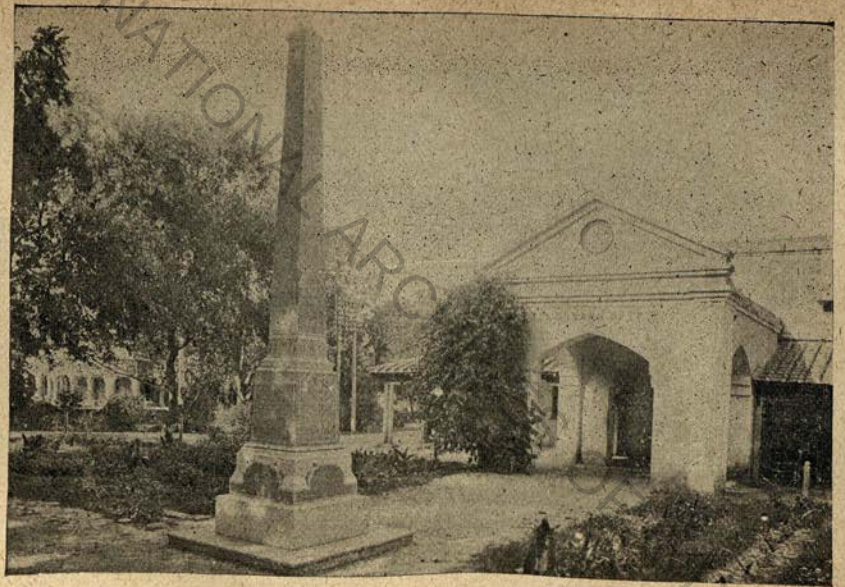
JOHN NICHOLSON.
From a portrait in the East India United Service Club.



TELEGRAPH OFFICE, DELHI.

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As an event, the conquest of Delhi has been a great favourite with the masses in Upper India as may be inferred from the popular Punjabi ballad that is sung in Delhi streets on it even to this day. The translation here given is that of Captain Newberry and it has had the approval of Sir John Lawrence.

WHEN Nicholson addressed Sir John, right quickly came reply,
To Delhi haste with armed host and make the rebels fly.
With joy brave Nicholson advanced, to meet a warrior's fate,
His cannons pour'd unceasing storm full on the Kashmir Gate;
And gazing at the combatants, he swore 'twere mortal sin
With food or drink to break his fast, until his troops should win
Oh, brother! 'twas an awful sight, the stormers, vengeful tread;
Then fired the caitiff Kaleh Khan, brave Nicholson was dead!
A soldier of Towana race upbore his dying frame,
Expiring Nicholson exclaim'd, Lawrence shall know thy fame—
'He'll make thee lord of Pindee's lands, of Pindee Gheb a chief,
'And give thee noble heritage, with many a smiling fief;

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'When the glad news of Delhi's fall to Britain's
Queen is told,
'She'll deck my troops with guerdons fare and
necklets red and gold.'
When Nicholson to Delhi came, right solemnly
he swore,
If God will only spare my life, her name shall be
no more;
Proud Jumna's flood shall wash her streets, her
battlements I'll raze,
And nought but blacken'd mounds shall meet the
wond'ring traveller's gaze.
Oh, brother! see the English charge, the Chandni
Chauk is won,
In the red palace of the kings their bloody work
is done;
The quaking Pourbeahs hear the tale and curse
their losing fate.
Now magic peace the conqu'rors bring where
carnage reign'd so late,
While merchants vend again their goods 'neath
British arms secure,
The warriors lay aside their hate to feed the
hungry poor.
Oh, Lion-hearted Nicholson! couldst thou but
live once more,
We'd slay, and leave each Pourbeah dog to welter
in his gore!
But British hearts are merciful, and vengeance is
forgot,
E'en injured serfs obtain their rights, and bless
their happy lot;
Where erst a vicious emperor sat, an honest ruler
sways,

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Aiding the ruined citizens, who murmur grateful praise.
Oh, Nicholson was bravest brave that English Chief could be;
My brother, such a gallant man seems very God to me.
And thus the dying hero wrote to Lawrence at Lahore,
'Thou art lord of the Khalsa's land, my brother chief of yore;
'List to my pray'r for Hyat Khan, my brave Towana guard:
'Make him a noble of the land, with him my all is shared.
'Write, and let India's Viceroy hear, a childless Captain's prayer,
'Regard my troops as dearest sons, make them my country's care,
'To recompense my children's deed the choicest gifts I crave.'
Oh, brother! we can ne'er forget John Nicholson the brave.
Oh, dearest spark of chivalry, let a Punjabi cry
All shame that British soldiery left Nicholson to die
Upon our father's honoured grave, thy Khalsa soldiers weep,
Towana's brave and stout Pathans lament thy lifeless sleep;
Mourning we say, hadst thou but lived, what riches were in store
For us, who war for stranger chiefs, since thou canst fight no more!
John Lawrence sent a missive sad to Britain's gracious Queen,

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Recounting first proud Delhi's fall, and the great hero's mien,
How gallantly he stormed the breach, above the Kashmir Gate,
And ever foremost in the van, had met a soldier's fate.
The Queen, with gentle sympathy, in tears this letter read,
And then her chieftain's mother called, whose only son was dead.
She soothed the mother's bitter grief, and from her royal neck,
Weeping, a priceless necklet took, her sobbing guest to deck;
'Oh! mother's heart, be comforted, nor mourn thy soldier son;
'God owns thy child, in England's Queen thou hast a mother won.'
Oh! foremost in the deadly breach, no foe could make thee halt,
Slain by the dastard Kaleh Khan, the traitor to his salt.
We ceaseless pray the warrior's God, with all a soldier's love,
That he would make brave Nicholson a prince in heaven above.
Oh! Godlike chieftain Nicholson, our children lisp thy name,
Thou'lt not forget the Khalsa's prayers, their babies prate thy fame.

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SIRDAR MUHAMMAD HYAT KHAN, C.S.I., whose name appears in the foregoing Ballad, was John Nicholson's Native Orderly during the campaign of 1857. From information supplied by Colonel Urmston, and Colonel J. Johnstone, he seems to have been a son of Fathi Khan, the brave Pathan chief who fell by Nicholson's side in the attack on the Margallo Tower in 1848. Fathi Khan's people dwelt at Wah, about a mile from Hasan Abdal. Some years later, at Nicholson's request, Edwardes gave Hyat Khan the post of Police Darogah (Superintendent) at Peshawar. After the outbreak of the Mutiny he served as Nicholson's Native Orderly through all the enterprises which marked his chief's victorious progress from Peshawar to Delhi. For several years after the Mutiny he served as Assistant to successive Deputy Commissioners of Bannu and Kohat. During the Afghan War of 1878-80, Hyat Khan served as political assistant to General, now Lord Roberts. For some years past he has been a divisional judge in the Punjab.

The only English poetical piece on the same theme is by Mr. C. A. Kelly, late Bengal Civil Service, from whose *Delhi and Other Poems* the annexed lines are taken :—

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With brand up raised, and white plume flashing far,
What haughty chieftain holds the front of war?
Well knows the foe that warrior in the fight,
Stern as the storm, and terrible as night;
Not his to dread the battle's blood-red waves,
Nor the wild rush of Heaven-detested slaves,
Though from the thundering bastion burst the cloud,
And the thick war-smoke clothes him like a shroud.
On towards the gate of Death, he pressed, and fell,
The proud stern man they feared, yet loved so well;
Quenched by the death-shot, lie for ever still
That iron spirit and that master will,
The princely heart of steel that would not yield,
But, like the Spartan, died upon the shield.
Say not such earnest toils were borne in vain;
Who wins the glory first must feel the pain.
Champion of right, the noblest aim of man,
He lived, and died when vengeance led the van.
May loftier harps record his glorious youth,
His love of honour, and his living truth;
We only mourn for him whose work is done,
And wish the world had more like Nicholson!

Of not inferior interest is the account of a contemporary of the times, who was apparently an Engineer officer at the siege. Writing to the *Lahore Chronicle* he said (Forrest's *Delhi Mutiny* Papers):—

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"On the night of the 13th, the Engineers stole down and examined the two breaches near the Kashmir and Water Bastions, and both being reported practicable, orders for the assault were at once issued, to take place at daybreak the following morning.

"At 4 A.M. (on 14th September) the different columns fell in, and were marched to their respective places, the heads of Nos. 1, 2, 3 columns being kept concealed until the moment for the actual assault should arrive.

"The signal was to be the advance of the Rifles to the front to cover the heads of the columns by skirmishing.

"Everything being ready, General Nicholson, whose excellent arrangements elicited the admiration of all, gave the signal, and the Rifles dashed to the front with a cheer, extending along and skirmishing through the low jungle, which at this point extends to within fifty yards of the ditch. At the same moment, the heads of Nos. 1 and 2 columns from the Kudsia Bagh, had advanced steadily towards the breach (es). Our batteries had mentioned tremendous fire up to the moment of the advance of the troops, and not a gun could the enemy bring to bear on the storming columns; but no sooner these emerged into the open, than a perfect hailstorm of bullets met them from the front and both flanks, and officers and men fell fast on the crest of the glacis. For ten minutes it was impossible to get the ladders down into the ditch to ascend the escarp; but the determination of the British soldier carried all before it, and Pandy declined to meet

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the charge of the British bayonet. With a shout and a rush the breaches were both won, and the enemy fled in confusion.

"Meanwhile the explosion party advanced in front of the 3rd column straight upon the Kashmir Gate. This little band of heroes (for they were no less) had to advance in broad daylight to the gateway in the very teeth of a hot fire of musketry from above, and through the gateway and on both flanks; the powder bags were coolly laid and adjusted, but Lieutenant Salkeld was by this time *hors de combat* with two bullets in him. Sergeant Carmichael then attempted to fire the hose, but was shot dead. Sergeant Burgess then tried and succeeded, but paid for the daring act with his life. Sergeant Smith, thinking that Burgess too had failed, ran forward, but seeing the train alight had just time to throw himself into the ditch and escape the effects of the explosion. With a loud crash the gateway was blown in, and through it the 3rd column rushed to the assault, and entered the town just as the other columns had won the breaches. General Wilson has since bestowed the Victoria Cross on Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, on Sergeant Smith, and on a brave man of Her Majesty's 52nd (*Bugler Hawthorne,*) who stood by Lieutenant Salkeld to the last, and bound up his wounds.

"General Nicholson then formed the troops in the Main Guard inside, and with his column proceeded to clear the ramparts beyond this (*from the Kabul Gate*) towards the Lahore Gate that he met the wound which has since caused his lamented death—a death which it is not too much

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to say has dimmed the lustre of even this victory as it has deprived the country of one of the ablest men and most gallant soldiers that England anywhere numbers among our ranks.

"The 4th column, I regret to say, failed; but as it was too far for me to know anything of its real progress, I prefer leaving its story to be told by another instead of sending you a vague and imperfect account. Had this column succeeded, its possession of the Lahore Gate would have saved much subsequent trouble.

"Mr. Editor, I regret that my account must stop here, as, being wounded myself at this stage of the proceedings, I was unable to witness the subsequent capture of the Magazine, the Burn Bastion, the palace, and finally of the whole city. Some one else will doubtless conclude my story in a more worthy manner than I have told it.

"Thus terminated the siege of Delhi. Our loss during the actual siege was about 300 men. On the day of the assault it was 61 officers and 1,178 men killed and wounded, being nearly one-third of the whole number engaged. The 1st Fusiliers alone lost nine officers, and other regiments, I believe, in proportion. The Engineers suffered heavily; the three officers conducting Nos. 1, 2, and 4 columns (Lieutenant Medley, Greathead and Maunsell) were all struck down early in the fight, and of 17 officers on duty that day, ten were put *hors de combat*. The loss of the enemy is never likely to be correctly ascertained; but at the end of the operations it is probable that at least 1,500 men must have been killed between the 7th and 20th, and a very large number

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wounded, who were carried away.

"For the complete success that attended the prosecution of the siege, the chief credit is undoubtedly due to Colonel R. Baird Smith, the Chief Engineer, and to Captain A. Taylor, the director of the attack. On this latter officer, in fact, in consequence of the Chief Engineer being wounded, devolved the entire surperintendence of the siege works, and his energy and activity will do doubtless meet with their due reward. Throughout the operations he seemed to be omnipresent, and to bear a charmed life, for he escaped without a wound. The plan of attack was bold and skilful, the nature of the enemy we were contending with was exactly appreciated, and our plans shaped accordingly. Pandy can fight well behind cover; but here he was out-manœuvred, his attention being diverted from the real point of attack till the last, and then the cover which might have proved such a serious obstacle to us was seized at the right moment without loss and all its advantages turned against him. With plenty of skilled workmen the siege works might have been more speedily constructed, but with the wretched means at our disposal the wonder is that so much was done with so little loss.

"If the siege of Delhi was not a regular siege in the same sense with that of Bhurtpore or Seringapatam, it may yet bear a fairer comparison with a greater than either—that of Sebastopol. In both the strength of the fortifications was as nothing; it was the proportion of beseiged to beseigers, the magnitude of the arsenal inside, and the impossibility of a thorough investment that constituted the real strength of the place;

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in fact, neither were, properly speaking, sieges, but rather attacks on an army in a strongly intrenched position.

The subjoined succinct account of the Mutiny at Delhi is taken from Mr. S. P. Kerr's *From Charing Cross to Delhi* :—

On Sunday, the 10th May, 1857, the Indian Mutiny began at Meerut. Next morning before twelve o'clock bands of Mutineers arrived at Delhi. They came in a hurry, fearing a pursuit by British soldiers. But the British soldiers were kicking their heels in the barrack-yards at Meerut while, sixty miles away, the Mutineers were killing white men and women. The rebels arrived at Selimgarh, close by the Fort at Delhi, where there was a bridge of boats. They crossed the bridge, and were admitted to the Fort.

How many English were there in Delhi on that 11th of May? It is very difficult indeed to form an estimate. There were no British regiments then stationed in the city. There were three native regiments—officered, of course, by British : the 38th, 54th, and 74th Native Infantry, with one battery of Native Horse Artillery. But there were many English men, women, and children in and about the city. Unfortunately, they were not concentrated. In the Palace (within the Fort) there were about half a dozen English : Captain Douglas, of the King of Delhi Guards ; Rev. Mr. Jennings, the Chaplain, his daughter, and her lady friends. At the

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mainguard by the Kashmir Gate (three-quarters of a mile from the Fort) was another batch of English: mostly women and children who fled there for safety during the morning. Scattered here and there through the city—at the Delhi College, at mission stations, and in commercial quarters — were others, men, women, and children, who either failed to realise their danger or who having realised it, did not succeed in escaping. Most of these people lost their lives within the next few days. Then, outside the city, in cantonments, were a number of military and civilians, most of whom escaped, first to the Flagstaff Tower on the Ridge, and afterwards to Meerut. It was this scattering of the English which proved so disastrous.

The trouble began at the Calcutta Gate by the Fort. Here were Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, Mr. Hutchinson the Collector, and Sir Theo, Metcalfe, the Magistrate. To them came Captain Douglas from the Palace. In vain they attempted to parley with the rebels. Sir Theo escaped in time. Fraser, Hutchinson, and Captain Douglas were cut down. Carried wounded into the Palace, they were there despatched. Then the Sepoys rushed to the apartments of the Rev. Mr. Jennings, and put him to the sword, with his daughter and friends. Thus ends the short and terrible first scene in the Delhi drama.

The Sepoys then rushed into the city. Some of them began to sack the shops and European houses; others made for the guard at the Kashmir Gate. About that time Brigadier Greaves at the Cantonment is told of the arrival

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of the rebels. He sends the 54th Native Infantry, under Colonel Ripley, down to the main-guard at the Kashmir Gate. There they meet the Sepoys from the Fort. There is a moment of intense excitement. The Colonel orders the regiment to charge the mutineers. The regiment hesitates; then—incredible thing—refuses. Another moment, and another incredible thing happens: a trooper fires at his Colonel — and misses. Ripley shoots him dead with his revolver. Then Ripley himself falls, covered with wounds. Five other English officers are set upon and killed. The native regiment joins the Mutineers, and they all rush off to the Magazine, less than a quarter of a mile away. So ends the second scene.

At the Magazine (as related in the text) Lieutenant Willoughby and his men were ready. We know how they defended the position gallantly for as long as possible: how they blew up the Magazine when defence was no longer possible; and how the survivors escaped over the river. The "coronal of red dust" which accompanied the explosion was seen for miles round. At the Kashmir Gate close by two English officers saw it, and knew its portent; these were Major Abbott and Major Paterson. Abbott was in command of the 74th Native Infantry, and had been sent by Greaves to the Kashmir Gate. He arrived after the Ripley incident, but he found Major Paterson with two guns in possession. And there they both "awaited orders". But there was nobody to give orders: no superior officer: no glorious person in gold lace: no

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established authority. So these two brave (but surely, stupid) men waited, and discussed the position, and wondered. Their native soldiers also waited, and wondered: grew restless, suspicious. Would nobody do anything? Then came the "coronal of red dust." Clearly something must now be done. A few words between Paterson and Abbott: then Abbott gave the order to his own men, the 74th (who were still loyal), "Form sections." "I pray you, sir," said one of his native officers, "don't trouble about sections. Get the men away quickly." And quickly they marched away to cantonments. Five minutes after leaving the Gate, Abbott hears firing. "What's that?" "It's the 38th, sir; they are killing their officers." "Let's go back." "Impossible, sir. We have saved you; we can do no more." It was too true. Four English officers fell immediately after Abbott had left. Others struggled through the bullets into the mainguard, where were a few terrified women. Happily, these all escaped, being let down from the windows into the ditch, and so across the river at the ford. So ends the third scene.

I confess I have never quite been able to understand this scene (despite Mrs. Steel's brilliant handling of it in "The Face of the Waters"). Why did the officers waste time in discussing the situation when every moment their men were becoming more mutinous? Possibly the answer is that they knew they could not trust their men, and that this paralysed them. But surely action of some sort was preferable to the policy of doing nothing. Again, why did Abbott march away

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and leave the other officers to their fate? The answer seems to be (1) that Abbott's was the only regiment which would obey orders; (2) that the officers realised this, and thought it best to get the men away from their mutinous comrades in time; (3) that the women in the mainguard could not be deserted, whatever happened. No doubt the situation was extraordinarily difficult; but one would have imagined that the proper course would have been to garrison the mainguard with the loyal regiment: it would, of course, have been too dangerous to attempt to bring the women away. In any case, one can pardon men for losing presence of mind at a moment like this.

The next scene with which we are concerned is that of the escape to Meerut. At least three parties were struggling from Delhi towards Meerut and safety. These were (1) the party from the Flagstaff Tower on the Ridge—mostly the families of military men and civilians, with some wounded officers. After many hardships and dangers—graphically narrated by a lady of the party ("F. P.," *i. e.* Mrs. Peile) in a booklet published shortly afterwards—they reached Meerut by way of Kurnaul; (2) the small party from the mainguard, who also succeeded in reaching Meerut; (3) the few gallant survivors of the Magazine. Of these the officer commanding (Lieutenant Willoughby) was murdered in a village: the others escaped. There were also one or two individual fugitives, *e.g.*, Mrs. Peile, who joined the Kurnaul party; and Mr. Wagentreiber, of the *Delhi Gazette*, who was lucky enough

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to save both himself and his family. It must not be forgotten that many women and children escaped through the good offices of natives. If there was much inhumanity amongst the natives at this time (chiefly the result of religious frenzy), there was also much humanity.

What exactly happened to the English scattered through the city will never be known. The reality was terrible enough. It has been made more terrible by highly-coloured stories which have a very slender foundation in fact. "Delicate women were stripped to the skin" (says "A Former Editor of the *Delhi Gazette*," 1857), "turned naked into the streets, beaten with bamboos, pelted with filth, etc." "Forty-eight ladies and girls," says another anonymous writer, were "kept for a week in Delhi," and afterwards tortured to death. Fortunately there is in all probability little truth in these statements, but the reality is bad enough. From the account of a native eye witness, it seems that "a few Europeans" took refuge in a mosque. There they were kept without water for several days, and afterwards "deponent saw them placed in a row and shot" at the bullock-sheds. The sad fact seems to be that on the first day of the rising of Delhi between thirty and forty Europeans lost their lives, including the Delhi College Professors, the Bank Manager and his family, some missionaries, four ensigns, and a portrait painter named Newland, who were staying at the Dak Bungalow. On the two or three following days about fifty more died, many of them women and children. Fifty native Chris-

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tians, men and women, were massacred in the Palace. The most extraordinary incident of the Delhi affair was the escape of the Aldwells. Mrs. Aldwell, her two sons and two daughters, lay hid in their own house in Delhi city from 11th May till 9th September, and finally escaped to the Ridge. This surely indicates splendid fidelity on the part of her native servants. One can hardly imagine the sensations of the prisoners during those awful weeks. But Mrs. Steel has imagined them for us, and brilliantly, in her novel, "The Face of the Waters."*

General Sir Hugh Gough G. C. B., V. C. does justice to others who took part in the assault. He writes in his *Old Memories* :—

The story of the assault of Delhi has been so efficiently narrated, and, moreover, my object being only to narrate my own personal share therein, I will merely confine myself to that portion in which I took a humble part. The Cavalry Brigade, or a portion of it, under the leadership of Brigadier Hope Grant, C. B., consisting of 9th Lancers, 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab Cavalry (one squadron each, and "Hodson's Horse," six hundred in all, the rest of the cavalry being left to guard the camp), was ordered to take up a position on the slope of the ridge facing Delhi and await events. From there we could see and hear all the stirring fighting going on in the breaches, and subse-

* My friend, Dr. W. W. Ireland, who was present at the siege and capture of Delhi, thinks there is no truth in this Aldwell story. It does indeed seem incredible.

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quently within the walls of Delhi. After a long suspense, during which we remained dismounted, orders were received for the Brigadier to take his cavalry force immediately in front of the Moree Bastion, to make a vigorous demonstration, and thereby prevent the enemy, who were in strong force in the suburbs of Kissin Gunge, and who had already met and repulsed the attack made on them by the Cashmere Contingent, from returning to Delhi and reinforcing their comrades there. We were right glad of the move, for we were tired enough of remaining inactive whilst all the fighting was going on, but I do not think we quite anticipated the trial we should be put to! We promptly took up our new position, and from that moment were exposed to a most severe fire of round-shot, shrapnel, and grape from the walls, to which we could only reply by an equally determined fire from our guns—of which, I think, we had ten in action. It was a most crucial test of discipline and endurance to stand there for hours, losing good men every minute and being able to make no return. The conduct of the 9th Lancers, who formed our front regiment, and with the Horse Artillery bore the brunt of the pounding, was simply glorious, and gave an example to their native comrades of what British pluck and steadiness could do under the most trying circumstances. The Horse Artillery, too, were splendid: they suffered most severely, and their casualties were so heavy that the officers had at last to serve the guns themselves. This again for me was a "first experience." Being steadily shot

at is just at first a most unpleasant one, but as I got a little more accustomed to it, it seemed not much worse than being out in the rain without ån umbrella ; and after a time I lighted my pipe and took matters very easily. It certainly was a critical time, but the movement had the desired effect, and heavily as our brigade suffered, it was satisfactory to know that we had done our duty and had borne a good, if passive, share in the day's fighting. As evening came on we were retired from our position towards Ludlow Castle, where " Hodson's Horse " bivouacked for the night. We then heard from others more of the events of the day's fighting : how nobly the party under Salkeld and Home, of the Bengal Engineers, had blown up the Cashmere Gate under a fire which nearly destroyed the whole party ; how gallantly the breach had been assaulted, and how the various columns had gradually worked their way in. When night fell our position was still one of great anxiety, for we barely held our own, and our losses had been very heavy, considering our small force. In fact, so anxious was our Commander, General Archdale Wilson, that it was said he even thought of withdrawing his troops and awaiting further reinforcements. Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed, and we held on. Amongst the killed that day was Lieutenant Salkeld, R. E., and Lieutenant Gambier, 33rd Native Infantry, both of whom were amongst the fugitives that Mackenzie and I rescued on May 19th, and with whom I had since formed a close friendship. But the greatest and most universal loss was that of the

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noble and determined Nicholson, who, mortally wounded, died a few days afterwards, the idol of all soldiers, and one whose death was a loss to the empire. The next day, and for several more, the fighting in Delhi was continuous and severe. The mutineers, after suffering frightful losses evacuated the city and dispersed in various columns, and Delhi was ours. I was placed in command of a strong picket guarding one of the gates, where I found myself in possession of the camp of the mutinied 60th Native Infantry ; and whilst there I heard the news of the king and his sons having taken refuge in Humayun's tomb, intelligence of which I sent in to Hodson and on which he promptly acted, going out with but a small force of his own men, capturing the old monarch, and bringing him a prisoner into the city where he had so recently held supreme sway (though it was but a nominal one, as he was old and feeble, and but a puppet in the hands of his sons). These miscreants, the real authors of all the horrible barbarities to which our countrymen and women had been subjected, were also captured by Hodson and brought in as prisoners. The story is well known how Hodson shot these princes with his own hands, and for which he has been so much blamed. I was not with him on this occasion : the only other British eyewitness was his second in command, Lieutenant C. Macdowell, who was afterwards killed at Shumshabad. But I heard the whole story from him (Macdowell) directly afterwards, and from Ressaldar Man Sing and other native officers ; and his and their undivided testimony was, that as Hodson with

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his small escort of only a hundred sabres was approaching Delhi, the natives crowded round in such numbers, and made such unmistakable signs of attempting a rescue, that the only step left was their death. As Macdowell said, "Our own lives were not worth a moment's purchase." I confess I have never felt anything but regret that Hodson should have taken on himself the part of executioner,—a position unworthy of so brave a man. The wretched princes, cowards and miscreants as they were, deserved their fate, and I have always held that Hodson was right in all he did, only excepting that one false step.

It is said there was an ancient prophecy among the Sikhs that Delhi should fall by their arms, and that her royal princes should be exposed in her public streets; and the men of "Hodson's Horse," when they saw the bodies of these men exposed on the Kotwali of the city, fully believed the prophecy had been fulfilled.

A very curious incident occurred just before I left Delhi. A prisoner was brought into our camp. I believe, he was captured when Hodson took the princes—at any rate, he was under a guard of "Hodson's Horse." Strong suspicion pointed to his being a European, though dressed in orthodox native clothes, all white, with the Mohammedan cut of *chupkun*. He was a tall, sturdy-looking man, with a naturally fair face, though extremely sun-burnt, and a fine, soldier-like figure. Repute had been rife in our camp during the siege that more than one European had been on the side of the mutineers; and several officers

and men had declared they had noticed a white face among the artillerymen on the Moree Bastion ; but few really believed such could be the case. Here, however, was the fact developed, for on close examination the prisoner confessed that he was a European ! He gave his name, and stated that he had been sergeant-major of a regiment of native infantry quartered at Bareilly or Moradabad ; that when his regiment mutinied they compelled him by force and threats of instant death to accompany them to Delhi ; and that when there he was still further compelled to serve their guns against us, for he never could find an opportunity of escaping, being strictly guarded and in daily fear for his life. He added that when Delhi was taken he fled for fear of our vengeance. I know these facts, as I took down the man's depositions : I cannot remember his name, but think it was "Gordon." He gave his evidence, all telling so against himself, in a most independent manner, and without fear. Notwithstanding his own admissions, and the fact of his having fought against us, something in his manner and bearing impressed me in his favour, and I felt pity for him. Criminal as his conduct had been, there was nothing craven about him, and I was glad when I heard his life was to be spared. I do not know what eventually became of him : I left Delhi a day or two after, and the matter dropped out of my memory. Although there have been other reports of our countrymen having joined the rebels, I am strongly of opinion this is the only authenticated case, and I would fain believe that an

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Englishman does not readily save his life by treachery.

During the few days I remained at Delhi after its fall, I made several expeditions into the city, and there saw the ravages that had been caused by the bombardment, and noticed what a hard struggle it had been for both sides. There was in the palace any amount of beautiful and costly things. A prize committee was quickly formed, and each man got his share according to his rank: my own private loot, if such it could be called, consisted of a sword taken from one of the princes, which Hodson gave me, and which I now possess.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE CITY GAZETTEER.

In this chapter, an attempt is made to give a collected account of all the buildings and places of any interest connected with the city. The city may, for the purposes of this chapter, be divided into (1) Old Indraprastha of the Pandava Kings; (2) Firozabad; (3) Purana Kila of Humayun and Sher Shah; (4) Jahanpanah, which is the part of the city between Siri and Kila Rai Pithora; (5) Kila Rai Pithora, or Ancient Delhi of the times of Prithvi Rai and the Afghan invaders; (6) Tughlakabad; (7) Shahjahanabad or Modern Delhi. Some general account of each of these divisions of the city will be first given, and then their more important places, buildings or remains of interest will be referred to.

OLD INDRAPRASTHA.

This stood on the site of what is now Indrapat or Purana Kila, about two miles south of the modern city, on the Delhi-Muttra Road. The name literally means "Indra's town," and was so given because of its magnificence. Cf. Oshadhiprastha, Kariraprasatha. It was built in the portion of the old primeval forest of Khandavavana and was hence known as Khandavaprastha, *prastha* meaning an "expanding forest." In its brilliance, during the days of the Pandavas, it

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is said to have looked like the city of Amaravati, the celestial capital of Indra, the lord of the Devas, and was, we are told, "decked with innumerable white mansions." Other towns like it rose in the neighbourhood, and all these have been modernised into Indrapat, Panipat (famous in Indian history), Baghpat, Sonpat and Tilpat. Sher Shah tried to change its name to Sheraghur after himself, but miserably failed in the attempt. Despite the fact that its present remains are all of the time of Humayun and Sher Shah, the place has a distinctly ancient look. On the way up to the Jumna Bridge are still pointed out the traditional sites at which Yudhishtira, the Pandava Prince, performed the Dasa-Aswamedha (Ten-Horse) sacrifice as a sign of his Imperial sway, and reared the Homa. At this spot a great fair is still held when the new moon falls on a Monday. Close to it is the Nigambodhghat, where Lord Siva is said to have discovered the lost knowledge of the Vedas. These are amongst the places still connected with the oldest Hindu occupation of the city and are as such worthy of a visit.

FIROZABAD.

About half a mile to the south of the city on the Jumna Banks. It was originally part of the area surrounding Sultan Raziya's tomb, which stands not far away to its east, at the point where the Sitaram Bazaar ends, unnamed and undated. Popular tradition says that the larger of the two graves here enclosed in this isolated spot, marks her grave—the grave of the first Empress of India (see Chapter II). The Kotila or Citadel of Firozhshah,

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was built about 1350-70. It was also known in olden days as Kushk-i-Firoz Shah. Its streets witnessed some of the most desperate fighting known in the annals of the city, soon after the death of Firoz Shah. The ruined citadel is conspicuous just to the south and south-west of the Lat noted below. The city got deserted completely during later times and its remains were largely utilised in the building of Shahjehanabad. Of the remains, the most important is the mosque called *Chausath Khambe* (of 64 pillars) behind the Jail. Other places of interest near by are :—

Farid Khan's Caravansarai.—A little to the south of the Lal Darwaza. It is now a Jail, though originally built by Farid Khan, a former Governor of the Punjab, and an adherent of Jehangir, as a Sarai. He also built Faridabad, the prosperous little town on the ancient site of Tilpat, 12 miles south of Delhi, and restored Salimgarh and according to one authority built the bridge to it. He lies buried in the cemetery at Saraishahji, about 400 yds. east of the Begampur Mosque.

Jumma Masjid.—Built by Firoz Shah. In its former state it must have been a fine structure. Mr. Fanshawe thus describes it:—Like other mosques of the same date it consisted of arcades of several rows of arches round an open central Court ; on the edges of this the large slabs on which the outer double columns of the arcades rested can still be seen. In the centre of the open quadrangle was a sunken octagonal structure, perhaps somewhat like the mausoleum of Sultan Ghari round which the record of the reign

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of Firoz Shah, and, in particular, of the public works executed by him, was engraved. The mosque was visited by Sultan Timur on the last day of 1398, for the purpose of devotions on his way from carnage and rapine in Old Delhi to carnage and rapine in Meerut and Umballa, and a meteoric disappearance from Hindustan in the manner of his appearance. In the mosque, or in the buildings adjoining it, was murdered the Emperor Alamgir II. in 1761, having been enticed to his fate by the report of the residence on the spot of a peculiarly holy fakir.

Lal Darwazah:—This marks the north gate of Sher Shah's Delhi, corresponding to the South Gate, opposite the south-west corner of the Purana Kila.

Lat:—The Lat is one of the two stone pillars of Asoka (300 B. C.) removed from Topra, seven miles south-west of Jagadhri, in the Umballa district, and from Meerut, and erected by Firoz Shah in his palaces at Delhi. The following interesting account of how this was done is taken from the chronicles of his reign by Zia-ud-din-Barni :—

"After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the Simbal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton

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was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultan came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5000 and 7000 maunds of grain, and the least of them 2000 maunds. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Firozabad, where it was landed and conveyed into the Kushk with infinite labour and skill."

"At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Mir Khan. When the pillar was brought to the palace, a building was commenced for its reception near the Jamma Musjid, and the most skilful architects and workmen were employed. It was constructed of stone and *chunam* (mortar), and consisted of several stages. When a stage was finished, the column was raised on to it, another stage was then built, and the pillar was again

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raised, and so on in succession until it reached the intended height. On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other end passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a *gaz*. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent it sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as supports until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its capital, and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola called in Hindi *Kalas*. The height of obelisk was thirty-two gaz; eight gaz were sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four gaz were visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing in Hindi characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them, stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter

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days a Muhammadan king, named Sultan Firoz."

The height of the pillar, above the platform, is thirty-seven feet, the circumference at the base being nine and one-third feet, and at the top six and a half feet. The four inscriptions of Asoka are wonderfully sharp and clear; they are among the oldest existing records of India, dating from the third century before the Christian era. Added to them, in much more modern characters, is a double inscription, one, two and a half feet above, and one just below the Buddhist record of the Chauhan Prince Visala Deva and of the date of 1164 A. D.

From the platform of the pillar a fine view is obtained of the ruins of the Firozabad Citadel, of the Purana Kila, and Humayun's Masouleum, and of the remains of still older cities and buildings right up to the Kutub Minar. The Lat is noticed in the works of many visitors to Delhi, and attracted the special admiration of the great Prince, the lord Timur.

Mahabat Khan's Mosque.—A little to the south of the Lal Darwazah. A fine mosque and ruined palace built by Mahabat Khan, a bold Rajput soldier who turned a pious Moslem. He rests in the Karbala, to the south-east of Safdar Jang's tomb.

PURANA KILA.

Purana Kila or Old Fortress was built by Humayun and Sher Shah on the site of Indraprastha, for which reason this portion of the city is commonly known by the alternative name of Indrapat. The imposing southern Gate and its pleasing decoration ought to be noticed by the visitor.

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The objects of interest near about the Fort are :—

Humayun's Mausoleum.—Of this, Mr. Fanshawe writes with just admiration. He says :—

In mere beauty it cannot of course compare with the Taj, but there is an effect of strength about it which becomes the last resting place of a Moghul warrior whose life was marked by many struggles and vicissitudes, and most people will probably prefer its greater simplicity to either the son's tomb at Sikandra, near Agra, or the grandson's tomb at Shahdara, near Lahore. The ground plan of the tomb is peculiar, as the angles project beyond the central bay on each side, and the freer use of white marble on them adds to the prominence of their position. The decoration of white and gray marble and of fawn-coloured stone on the red sandstone is very effective, and the pierced marble screens in the openings to the interior are among the very finest specimens of this work. This railing on the edge of the platform has recently been restored all round it, much to the improvement of the general effect.

The interior is entered from the south side, and the actual vault can also be visited from the lower terrace on this side. The central chamber, which is a very fine and lofty one, contains only the marble tomb of the Emperor. His faithful wife, known as Haji Bagam, who built the tomb and Arab Sarai, is buried in the north-east corner of the building. The other corner rooms also contain graves, which are nameless, but are known to include those of the unfortunate Dara Shekoh, of two of the brothers of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah

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who fought against him for the Empire, and three sons of these, and of the Emperors Jahandar Shah and Alamgir II. (d. 1712 and 1761 A.D.). The Emperor Jehangir records in his memoirs that while in pursuit of his son, Prince Khusru, he visited the tomb of his grandfather and distributed alms at it and at the tomb of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, to which also he went. He would doubtless have appreciated the scene in which his father is represented with Shah Tahmasp in the hall of the Chihal Situn (Forty Pillars) at Ispahan, of which the account given in the note below will perhaps be found interesting.

On the top of the building round the drum below the dome, are a number of rooms and pavilions, once occupied by a college attached to the mausoleum, and reminding one of the colony of Peter's dome. The view from the top is extremely fine, and includes nearly everything of interest round Delhi, except Tughlakabad, hid by rising ground to the south. The fine mass of trees on the further bank of the river marks Patparganj and the side of the battlefield of Delhi in 1803.

In the south-east corner of the garden is a nameless picturesque tomb of red sandstone, with some beautiful pierced grilles in the windows, and outside, in the same direction, is the Nili Burji. This tomb with its beautiful dark blue dome, is that of Fahim Khan, and was, it is believed, erected to his memory about 1625 A.D., by the Khan-i-Khanan in whose cause he fought and fell. The large tomb of this chief, son of the great Turk noble Bairam Khan, who won back the Moghul Empire for

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Humayun at Sirhind and for Akbar at Panipat, and rebelled against the latter, is also seen from the top of the mausoleum. It must once have been an extremely beautiful structure, but it was stripped of most of its marble by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Asaf-ud-daulah, and is now only a grand ruin of red sandstone—the centre bays of the sides are particularly fine. The gate which led to the enclosure of this tomb stands on the east side of the Grand Trunk Road, and both can be reached by proceeding half a mile down this from the Sabz Posh Tomb. Khan Khanan himself was Governor of Gujarat and the Punjab, and fought one of the most desperate battles waged with the Bijapur power. A few hundred yards beyond these is *the old* Moghul bridge, known as the Barah Palah, or Twelve-Arched, which is decidedly picturesque, as viewed from down stream, and well deserves a visit. This bridge was crossed by Mr. William Finch in his journey from Agra to Lahore. "The City of Delly" (that is, the Delly of Sher Shah, whom Finch calls Salim), he writes "lies in a delightful plain, compassed with curious gardens and monuments. It is a matter of two cose (kos) in length from gate to gate, and has the fate of a great many other noble cities of India, to lie partly in ruines.... The ruines of old Delly (i. e. Kila Rai Pithora, Jahanpanah, Siri, and Tughlakabad) lie a little distance from here, separated by an arm of the Gemini (Jumna) over which is a bridge of eleven or twelve arches.... Particularly there appears amongst these ruines the carkase of that ancient building called the Castle, that had to the number of 52 gates (this is

Tughlakabad,) a thing of surprising glory and stateliness in its time, but now worn out and disfigured to the last degree."

Mr. Finch noted quite correctly that there were four Old Delhis, one of Sher Shah and three built by the Pathan Kings, *viz.*, the original Delhi, with its extension of Jahanpanah and Siri, Tughlakabad, and Firozabad.

Outside the north-east corner of the garden of Humayun's tomb are the remains of a house and a mosque in the severe middle Pathan style, which, according to credible tradition, formed the residence of Sheikh Nizam-ud-din-Aulia.

Isa Khan Tomb and Mosque:—Close to Humayun's Mausoleum. It is named after a noble of Sher Shah's times who was buried here in 1547 A. D. It was at one time profusely decorated with encaustic tiles. The octagonal tomb, with its raised outer gallery and pavilions round the dome, has been much admired.

Jantar Mantar:—About 3 miles west by north of Purana Kila and about a mile south of the Ajmir Gate. It is the popular name given to the Observatory (Skt. Semrat Yantar) built in 1724 by Raja Tai Singh of Jeypur, who had his palace and stables at Madhoganj, a village to the east of the Observatory which is still held in Jaghir by the Jeypur Rajas. It was badly damaged by the Jats within half a century of its erection and the only things of interest in it now are the great equatorial dial, and the two round buildings with tiers of arches which were apparently used for the measurement of the ascension and declension of the stars. About 500 yards from the

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Observatory is the reservoir well, called Uger Sen's Baoli.

Khairpur Buildings:—Situated in the village of Khairpur, a little to the north-west of Nizam-ud-din Aulia's Durgah.

These are four in number. That nearest the road, and between it and the village, is the tomb of Muhammud Shah, third of the Syed Kings (died 1445 A. D.) which is figured in Mr. Fergusson's "Eastern Architecture." The building is octagonal and has an exterior arcade, with sloping angles, similar to those of the tombs of Isa Khan and Mubarik Shah; the decoration of the interior of the dome must once have been unusually beautiful. In the village itself, 200 yards further north, is a striking mosque approached through a very fine gateway, which, from a distance, looks like a tomb. The interior of the gateway reached by a high flight of steps is singularly well proportioned and lofty, and was evidently modelled upon the Alai Darwazah. Beyond the gateway is an extremely picturesque courtyard, with a mosque on one side and an assembly hall on the other, bearing the date of 1498 A. D. This mosque was once entirely covered by the most beautiful plaster decoration, and still retains much of this. The plaster was relieved by colour in the form of patterns of encaustic tiles, and is quite the most beautiful specimen of this class of ornamentation that exists in India. On the north outskirt of the village is a second tomb without name, on which some tile-work of very bright blue may still be seen; and 400 yards beyond it again is the tomb of Sikander Shah Lodi, who

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died in 1517, only nine years before the Moghul conquest of India. This tomb is strikingly situated in a walled enclosure which, like Chiragh Delhi, stands on the banks of a deep depression, spanned by a bridge of seven arches carrying the high road that then connected Firozabad and the north with Siri and Old Delhi. The tomb itself is a fine building but the situation of it is the most pleasing thing connected with it. The pillar which bears the lamp at the head of the grave was once a column of a Jain temple; and it is curious how Hindu details were beginning to reassert themselves in Muhammadan buildings just before the time of the fresh Muhammadan conquest by the Moghuls.

Masjid Moth.—A fine mosque, a mile south of Mubarikpur, built in 1488, which is said to have served as a model for that of Sher Shah in the Purana Kila and the Jamali mosque at the Kutb.

Mubarik Shah's Tomb.—In Mubarikpur village, a mile south of Nizam-ud-din. This is the earliest of the tombs built in the later Pathan style, in honour of the second Syed king, who was murdered in 1433 A. D.

Muhammadpur.—Two miles west by souh of Safdar Jang's tomb. Here is a fine Dargah, well worth visiting for its lofty domes. In the plain between this place and the tomb of Safdar Jang was fought the famous battle between Sultan Muhammad Shah, the Pathan King and Timur, the Tartar.

Mujahidpur.—Two miles almost due south of Safdar Jang's tomb, close to the road. Here are a few tombs.

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Nizam-ud-din Aulia Dargah.—In the village of the same name, just past the Nalla to the west of Humayun's Mausoleum. By far the best detailed notice of it is to be found in Mr. Fanshawe's book. He writes :—

The Dargah or shrine of Shekh Nizam-ud-din Aulia, whose full title was Shekh-ul-Islam-Nizam-ul-hak-wa-ud-din, is with the other Chisti shrines at Ajmir, the Kutub, and Pakpattam, one of the principal places of Muhammadan reverence in all India. This saint was the last of the four, and successor to Shekh Farid-ud-din of Pakpattan, known as Shakar Ganj. No story in the annals of ancient Delhi is more widely told than that of the quarrel of those frequent mediæval opponents, the King and the Priest, for do not the desolation of Tughlakabad and the bitter water of the shrine tank bear witness to it to this day? In its full form the tale runs that the Emperor Tughlak Shah impressed the workmen of the saint to finish his new fortress and city. The saint thereupon prosecuted his labours on the tank by means of oil light, whereupon a royal mandate forbade the sale of oil to him. The prayers of the saint then prevailed, so far that the workmen were miraculously supplied with light from the water of the tank, which enabled them to sail to work upon it at night. In his wrath, the Emperor cursed the water of the tank, and it became bitter, and the saint in retaliation cursed the city of Tughlakabad. What is more certain is that Tughlak Shah did meet his death through the treachery of his son, assisted by the Shekh, who, while the king was approaching Delhi, and was known to be uttering threats

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against him, kept on saying tranquilly to his disciples: "Dilli hanoz dur ast" ("Delhi is still distant"), a saying which has passed into a proverb in India. If, as tradition runs, the Shekh also had knowledge of the death of Jelal- ud-din Khilji, which seemed at the time supernatural, it may be shrewdly suspected that he was also in league with a parricidal nephew on that occasion. He was, no doubt, one of the leading politicians of his day, and as such was probably as unscrupulous as his compeers and opponents, but there seems to be no ground whatever for attributing the origin of Thagism to him, and, as a matter of fact, this must have been Hindu. The saint, who settled at Delhi in the time of the Emperor Balban, died at the advanced age of ninety-two, in 1324. According to Abul Fazl, he was known as Al Bahhath, the Controversialist, and Mafil Shikan, the Confounder of Assemblies.

The entrance gate to the Dargah bears the date of 1378 A.D., and, like the inner gate beyond the tank, was built by the Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak, who next to Ala-ud-din was the greatest of the early benefactors of the place. The plan of the interior given here, the first ever made, will render the following description of the interior intelligible. On either side within the entrance is an old Pathan tomb and by that, on the right, is a mosque of two storeys, a rare arrangement; south of it again is the marble pavilion and grave of Bai Kohal De, a prima donna of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and behind that is an old cupola borne by red sandstone pillars. The gravestone

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of this lady is a very beautiful one, and should be visited from the gallery at the south end of the tank, to which the paved way, picturesquely covered in at the end, leads along the east side. The tank, or Baoli, into which men and boys dive from the surrounding buildings, is named "Cashma dilkush," or the "Heart alluring spring" (this gives the date of 713 H., or 1312 A.D. which does not correspond with the era of Tughlak Shah, who was murdered in 725 H., after a reign of four years); an archway now in the water on the east side of the tank is said to conduct to a cell once occupied by the saint. The inner and third gate beyond that of Firoz Shah on the south side of the tank, which leads to the actual enclosure of the Dargah, is of much later date; but no longer bears any inscription. Beyond it is an extremely fine "imili," or tamarind tree, affording a beautiful shade, and at the side of it is an octagonal marble receptacle, filled with sweets and milk on special occasions, like great cooking pots at the Ajmir shrive. In the angle behind this gate on the right is a Meeting Hall, said to have been built by the Emperor Aurangazeb. In front of the gate and in the middle of the centre court is the tomb of the saint, with the Jam at Khana, or mosque, to the west of it. The structure over the tomb has been rebuilt and restored by many pious donors, and but little ancient work is left in it now. A wide verandah runs round the exterior, and light is admitted to the grave chamber by pierced marble screens in the inner walls of this. The ceiling of the verandah was restored at the expense of the late Mr. R. Clarke, B. C. S. Round

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the grave, which is always covered, is a low railing of marble, and above it is a copy of wood, inlaid with mother-o'-pearl. Two inscriptions on the tomb describe it as the "Kiblahgrah-i-khas-o-am", and the "Kubba-i-shekh," or the "Place of prayer" to which all, great and small, turn, and the "Dome of the Saint"

The Jam'at Khana Mosque, known also as the Khizri Mosque, is an extremely fine building of the ornate earlier Pathan style. It cannot have been the work of the Emperor Firoz Shah, who, however, restored it, and may have rebuilt the side rooms; and though called after Khizr Khan, the son of Ala-ud-din Khilji, it seems probable that it was begun at least by the latter, as the centre bay more closely resembles the Alai Darwazah of that monarch than any other building in Old Delhi, and the son was murdered within a year of the death of his father. The front arches, with their heavily engrailed curves, are particularly handsome and effective, and the carved work of the kiblah niche is unusually elaborate and beautiful. The fine timber doors and the Hindu heads of the doorways also deserve special notice. The golden cup hanging from the dome of the central chamber is said to be the one originally suspended there.

South of the tomb of the Shekh come the graves of many persons of note, and amongst them not a few of royal blood, resting as close as possible to his holy influence. Next to the mosque in the front row is a marble enclosure with the grave of Jahanara Begam, daughter of Shah Jehan and companion of his captivity,

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which she survived sixteen years, outliving her rival sister Roshanara Begam by ten. The grave consists of a marble block hollowed out so as to form a receptacle for earth in which grass is planted: at the north side stands a handsome head-stone, with verses supposed to have been written by the Princess: "Let green grass only conceal my grave: grass is the best covering of the grave of the meek." On either side of her are buried the son and daughter of two of the late Moghul Kings—doubtless because the cost of a separate place of burial for them was not forthcoming. In the next enclosure on the east lies Muhammad Shah (d. 1748), the unhappy Emperor who saw the capture of Delhi by Nadir Shah, and near the fallen head of her house lies the Moghul princess who was married to Nadir Shah's son, and her baby. The entrance to this enclosure and to that opposite on the further side of the passage is decorated with marble doors, on which extremely beautiful patterns of flowers and leaves have been carved. The conception of these hardly appertains to the region of high art, but the execution is well worthy of notice, as are the beautiful pierced marble screens in the walls of the enclosures. The third contains the grave of Prince Jehangir son of the King Akbar II.: it was under completion when Bishop Heber visited the Dargah. The people of Delhi say that the real cause of the prince's removal to Allahabad was that he actually fired at the British Resident, Mr Seton, in the King's palace, the ball passing through that gentleman's hat.

Yet another gateway leads from the central

court to the well-shaded quadrangle on the south, which contains the Chabutra Yarani and the tomb of the poet Khusru, as well as many other graves, among them several of the actual disciples of the saint. The first was the platform where the friends of Nizam-ud-din Aulia used to sit with him in his life-time, and was thence called "the Seat of the Friends." The second covers the remains of the first and most renowned of the poets of the modern language of India. Amir Khusru, popularly known as the "Sugar-tongued Parrot" ("Tuti-i-shakar-makal") and also called in the inscription on his tomb Adim-ul-misal; or the Peerless, both designations giving the date of his death, 725 H, or 1324 A. D. He was a devoted friend of Shekh Nizam-ud-din, and died at an advanced age soon after his master, whom he refused to survive. Among the adventures of his life he was once captured by the Moghul invaders. The present tomb dates from the early year of the seventeenth century. The grave chamber is surrounded by two galleries and the light which reaches it is very subdued. The well-known historian, Khondamir, was also buried near by, but the Darghah guardians are unable to point out his grave. Beyond the west wall of the southern court is an extremely pretty grave and mosque of one Dauran Khan; and outside the east wall of the central court—it can also be reached by steps from the gallery along the east side of the tank—is the tomb of Azam Khan, or Atgah Khan, commonly known as Taga Khan. This man, whose actual name was Shams-ud-din-Muhammad, saved the

life of the Emperor Humayun on the occasion of his final and irretrievable defeat by Sher Shah, and won alike the further consideration of the Emperor Akbar, the title of Azam Khan, and the Governorship of the Punjab, by defeating Bairam Khan Jalandhur when the latter went into half-hearted rebellion against his master. His wife was a foster-mother to Akbar, as well as Maham Anagah and no doubt great jealousy arose between the families of the two ladies, which culminated in Adham Khan, son of the latter, murdering Azam Khan in the royal palace at Agra in 1556 A. D. The murderer than proceeded to the door of the private apartments of the palace and upon the Emperor issuing forth, tried to seize his hands in order to secure his pardon. Akbar, however, freed himself by violence and laid Adham Khan senseless by a single blow, which the court chronicler assures us was like that of a mace, and his body was then by the Emperor's orders, twice thrown from the lofty palace terrace into the court below. The corpses both of the murdered man and of his murderer were sent to Delhi, the former to be buried here, and the latter at the Kutab, where his mother, who is said to have died of a broken heart, was soon laid beside him. The tomb of Azam Khan must have been one of the most effective and pleasing specimens of polychromatic decoration in the whole of India, and even in its present half-ruined condition will be considered by most people extremely pretty. The red sandstone used in it is of an unusually fine colour, and the marble has assumed an ivory hue. Three graves stand on the marble pavement of the

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sepulchral chamber, decorated with white and black stars. The enclosure wall on the west side was once brightly decorated with encaustic tiles, of which some traces still remain. Two hundred feet to the south-east of his tomb, and practically opposite the Chaputra Yaranj courtyard, is the last building of special interest at the Dargha the Chausath Khambhe, or Sixty-four Pillared Hall. This is the family grave enclosure of the sons of Azam Khan and of his brothers, several of whom, like Adham Khan, were commanders of 5000, which was practically the highest military rank that could be attained in ordinary circumstances under the Moghul Emperors. The building was raised by Mirza Aziz Kokaltash, foster-brother of the emperor Akbar, who died in 1624 A. D. and round him are buried a number of members of the family which was known as the Atgah-Khail, or Gang so widely did it spread and flourish under imperial favour. The grey marble arches of the hall are pleasing, and the effect of the interior is decidedly good, and reminds one in a way of the beautiful grey marble chamber of the Moti Musjid of Agra.

Safdar Jang's Tomb :—About a mile almost due west of Nizam-ud-din's Dargah. It was built on the plan of the Taj, about 1753, the year of the death of Safdar Jang, nephew and successor of the first Nawab Wazir of Oudh. The tomb inside is a fine one. The view from the top of this structure ought not to be missed.

Siri Fort :—Half a mile south of Musjid Moth. The ruins of an old Fort, described to us by Timur, the Tartar, are to be found here. It had, he says,

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seven gateways and was connected with old Delhi by a "strong wall built of stone and cement." The city which it enclosed, he describes as "a round city" with lofty buildings in it. The Fort was built by Alla-ud-din Khan and Ibn Batuta says, it was also called Dar-ul-Khilafat, or seat of learning. About a couple of hundred yards, from these ruins is a fine well with an inscription of Sikandar Lodi, and close by it on the outside, is the Muhamdi Masjid, with a single dome. The Makhdum Sabzawar, close to the west wall of the ruined fort, is also well worth a visit.

Sher Mandal.—The Sher Mandal is interesting as the building on the steps of which the Emperor Humayun slipped when rising from evening prayer, and met with his death in 1556 A.D. The date of his death is embodied in the anagram: "Humayun Vadshah az bam uftad" ("King Humayun fell from the roof"), but this does not really give the exact date.

Sher Shah's Mosque—The facade of this structure, writes Mr. Fanshawe, is quite the most striking bit of coloured decoration at Delhi, and has been satisfactorily restored. The red sandstone used in it is of an unusually deep tone, and very beautiful. The brackets under the balconies are an early type of those which are so marked in the red sandstone palace of Akbar or Jehangir in the Agra Fort. The interior is extremely fine, the patterns in the pendentives below the dome being very effective.

JAHANPANAH.

Between Shahpur village and Kila Raj Pishora. It was fortified in olden days, and in

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Timur's time it possessed thirteen gates. The spots here worthy of notice are :—

Bad Mandal :—A high platform, within Jahanpanah, from which an excellent view of the surrounding country may be had. It has been suggested that it may have formed part of the Thousand Column Palace of Muhammad Tughlak.

Begampur Mosque :—A fine mosque within Jahanpanah ruins, built by Jahan Khan, partially occupied by the villages. It was built about 1387, and is the second largest Mosque in Delhi.

Firozshah's Tomb :—This lies just south-west of Hauz Khas.

Hauz Khas :—About 2 miles from Jahanpanah, on the western side of the road. Timur rested here at the battle of Delhi and received the congratulations of his Amirs. He writes of it thus in his *Memoirs :*—

" This is a reservoir which was constructed by the Emperor Firoz Shah, and is faced all round with cement. Each side of the reservoir is more than a bowshot long, and there are buildings round it."

The tank is extremely picturesque when viewed from below, although it no longer contains any water. There was once a pavilion in the middle of it, as in the Hauzi Shamsi at Mahrauli. Along the east side and the east end of the south side are the ruins of a number of galleries and steps in the wall of the tank, and above these rise some fine buildings, the domed tomb of the king (died 1839 A. D.) being the finest of all. The exterior of the tomb is plain, but the interior, of which the sides measure 28 feet, is fine, and

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a certain amount of the coloured decoration of the dome still remains. The three marble tombs are believed to mark the resting places of the king, of his son Nazir-ud-din Tughlak Shah, and of a grandson. The tomb was restored by Sikandar Shah Lodi, and was specially repaired by the Punjab Government some years ago. Several of the open stone canopies over graves near the tomb are extremely picturesque.

Firoz Shah's tomb is quite close by to the south-west.

Karira.—Near to Jahanpanah. About half a mile south of it is a fine Idgab with round towers at the ends in the heavy Pathan style. This was occupied by Timur after the battle of Delhi.

KILA RAI PITHORA.

Here ruled the Tuwar King Anang Pal, and in later times (12th century A. D.) Prithvi Raja, the last of the Chauhan line of Hindu Kings. The latter fortified the city now called after him. He probably built also, about 1180 A. D., the Lal Kot as a defence against Moslem invaders. The other Hindu remains here include the Anang Tal, the Anangpur Kund and the Suraj Kund, all of which may have been founded by Anang Pal. The Iron Pillar near the Kutub Minar is also an old Hindu relic of the 6th century A.D. or of even earlier times. That the first kings, or that their subjects were Jains is attested to by the remains of the temples that have been so largely utilised by the later Muhammadan kings.

This fort, with at least nine outer gateways, is quadrangular in form, the defences being massive

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and strong. At its northern wall at the tenth milestone from Delhi and nearly equidistant between two of its northern gateways, is the garden of Mihtab Rai, which is certainly worth looking into. Many fine views can be had from the top of the defences. The buildings inside this fort are amongst the most interesting in all the Delhi architectural and other remains. They include the Kutub Minar, the Kutub Mosque, Tomb of Altamsh, Alla-ud-din's Tomb, Iron Pillar, Alai Minar, etc. The Iron Pillar dates from the 6th century A. D. perhaps even earlier; while the Muhammadan buildings are all subsequent to 1206, when Kutb-ud-din Aibak began his reign. As Mr. Fanshawe observes :—

The mosque and the buildings round it are the work of three great kings, who, with the Emperors Balban and Firoz Shah exhaust the rulers of that class previous to the Moghul conquest of India; first, Kutb-ud-din-Aibak (1206-1214), who built the innermost court of the mosque with its corridors and west end in 1191, and added the screen of arches in front of the west end of the court six years later; secondly, Shams-ud-din Altamsh (1211-1236), who completed the Kutub Minar commenced by his predecessor, added the outer arches of the screen north and south of these of Kutb-ud-din, and built a fresh courtyard, with a cloister of pillars specially prepared for it, extending along the south side as far east as the Kutub Minar, and on the east side still standing opposite the north of the front of Kutub-ud-din's Mosque, and whose tomb is situated outside the north-west corner of the

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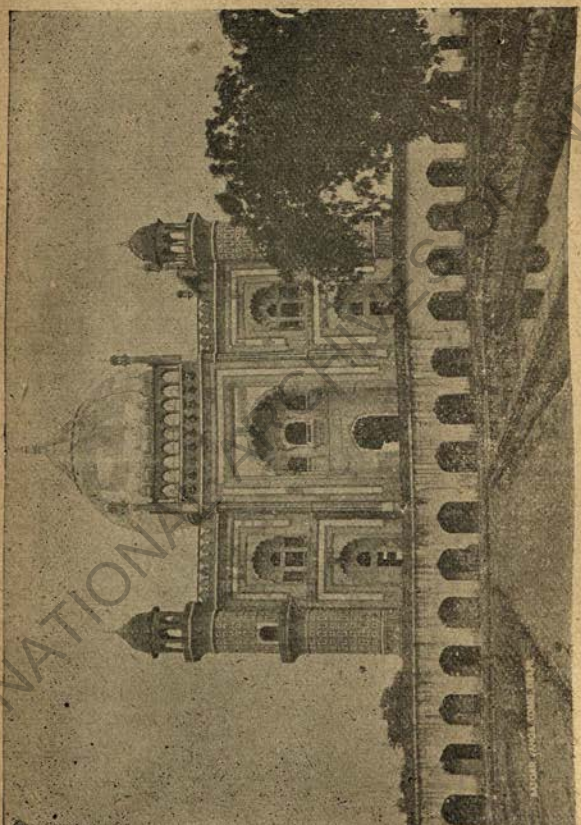
OLD FORT, DELHI.



SAFDAR JANG'S TOMB, DELHI.

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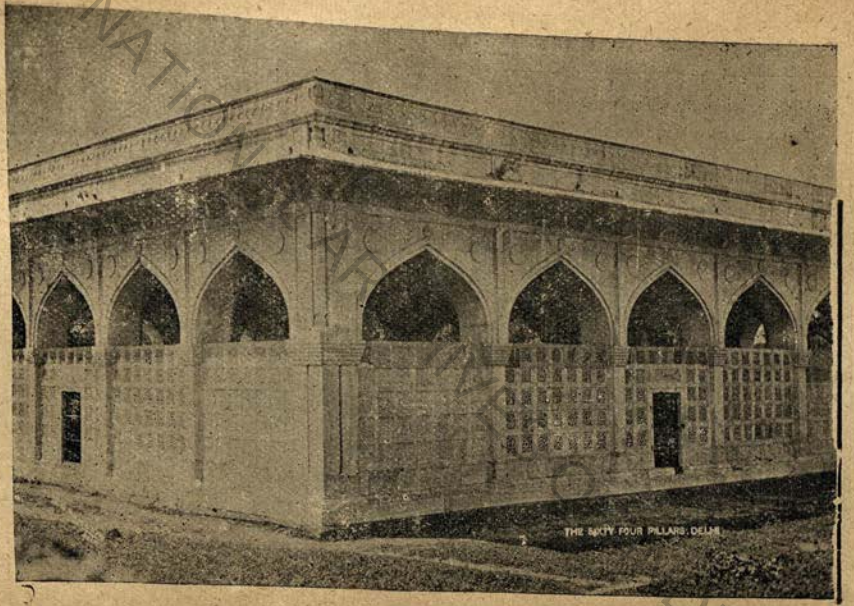
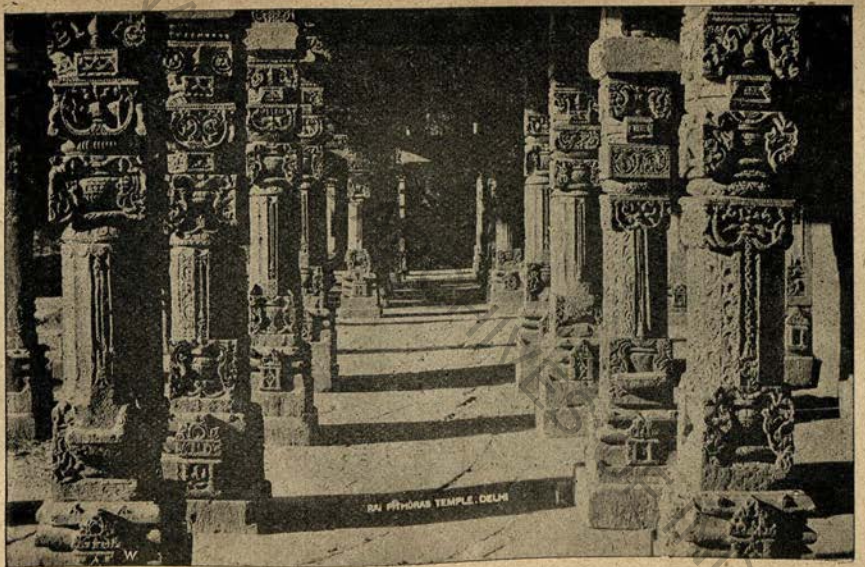
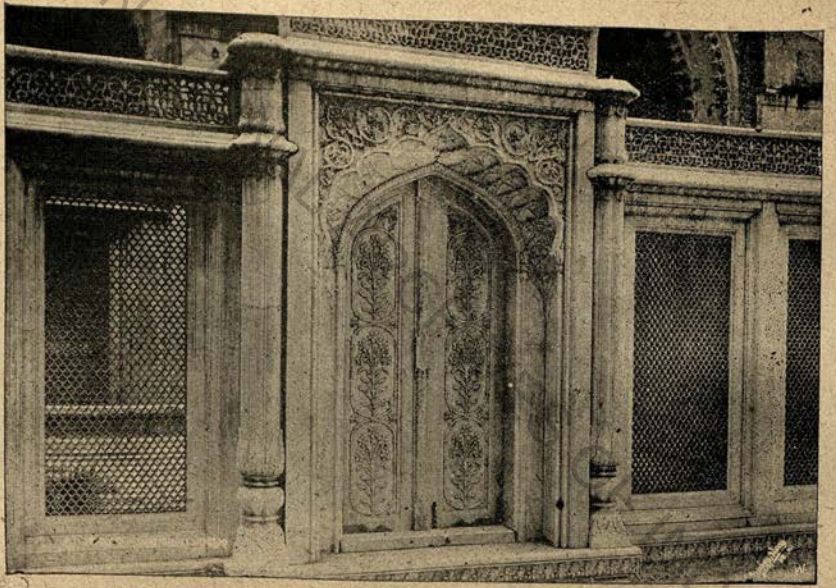


THE SIXTY-FOUR PILLARS, DELHI.



RAI PITHORAS TEMPLE, DELHI.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA



MOHAMMAD SHAH'S TOMB, DELHI.

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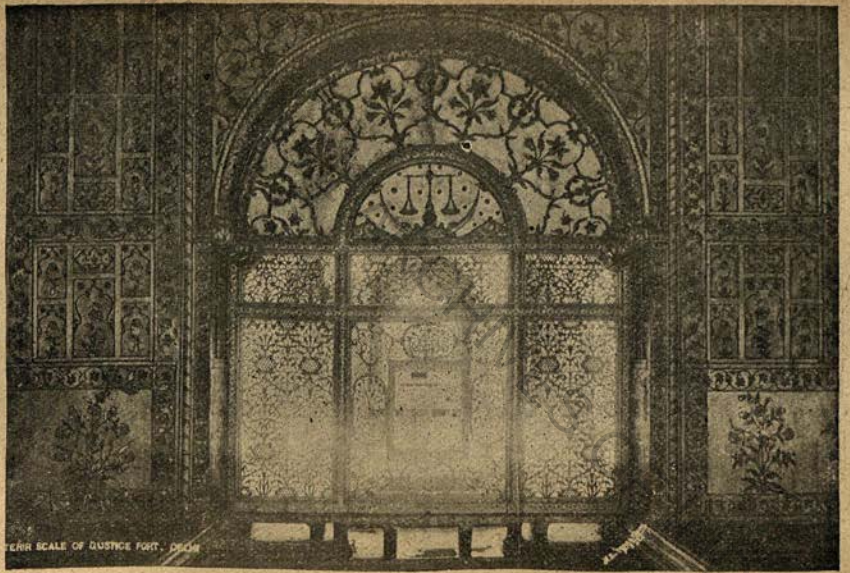
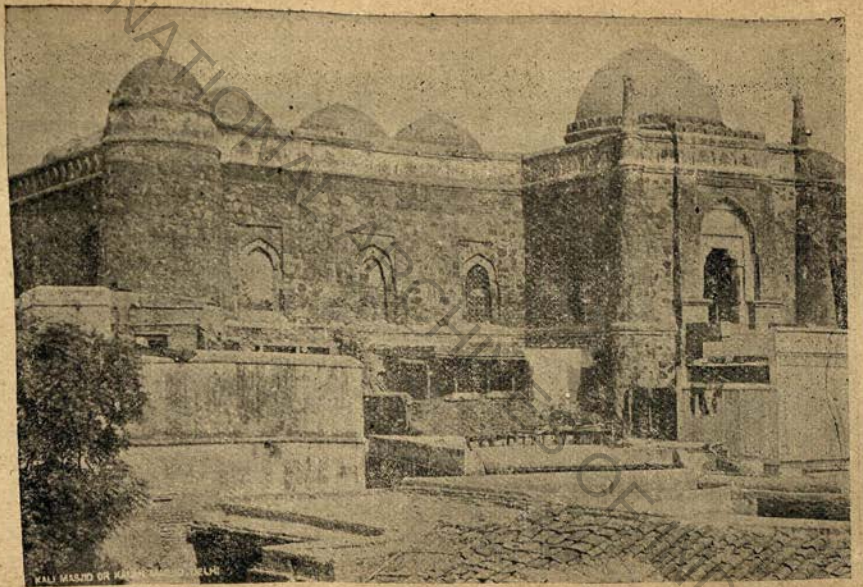
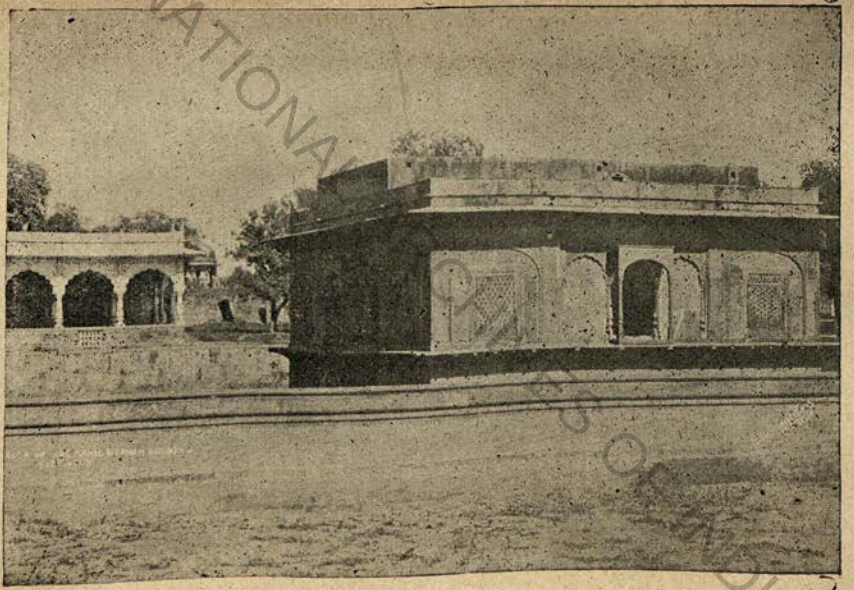


SCALE OF JUSTICE FORT, DELHI.



KALAN MASJID, DELHI.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



THE PALACES OF JAL MAHAL AND SAWAN BHADON, FORT, DELHI.

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mosque as enlarged by him; and thirdly, Ala-ud-din Khilji (1295-1315 A. D.) who built the beautiful Alai Darwazah almost under the Kutub Minar, continued the south corridor of Altamsh past this gate, very much further east, and carried it north so as to include his unfinished Minar outside the north-east corner of the mosque as enlarged by Altamsh made a further extension of the screen of arches to the north, and joined these two extensions along the north side. On the south side, the enclosure terminates on the edge of a deep depression below the Alai Darwazah, so no extension of the arches was possible there. Ala-ud-din's tomb stands in the south wall of the enclosure behind the mosque, as first enlarged, and corresponds with that of Altamsh.

The places of interest here are :—

Adchini:—On the roadside, just a mile north of Kila Rai Pithora. Here are the ruins of several old buildings and cemeteries, the one on the western side containing the grave of the mother Shekh Nizam-ud-din Aulia.

Adham Khan's Tomb.—About $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south by west of the Kutb Minar. It is placed on the wall of the Lalkot Citadel, and is therefore conspicuous all round. Mr. Fanshawe writes :—

The tomb, though of so late a date as 1566 A. D., is built entirely in the severe middle Pathan style, and the materials of it were quite possibly taken bodily from some Pathan tomb; the domed interior is very fine, and many beautiful views of the Kutub Minar may be enjoyed from the arcade round the exterior, in which the stone over the grave of Adham Khan has been placed. That of his

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mother, who is said to have died of grief forty days after the righteous execution of her son, has disappeared. Sympathy with either would be wholly wasted. The story of Adham Khan has been already told and no one who has visited the beautiful old fortress of Mandu and entered the charming pavilion of Rupmati, on the edge of the sheer side of the tableland which overlooks the broad Nerbuddah, will feel anything but satisfaction that such a fate as his was should have overtaken him. Adham Khan had wrested Mandu from the last of the Gujerat kings, and having obtained possession of his beautiful mistress, sought to compel her to yield to his desire, upon which, Lucretia-like, she killed herself. When the Emperor Akbar heard of this he recalled and disgraced Adham Khan, though he was his half-brother as well as his foster-brother, and demanded the surrender of two ladies of the family of the defeated king, whom also Adham Khan had captured. They were accordingly sent to the royal court, and there they were poisoned by Maham Anagah, the mother of Adham Khan to prevent their making any complaint to the emperor.

A hundred yards to the south-east of this tomb is a fine baoli, known as the Gandak Baoli, in which old Jain columns have been used. Divers jump into this tank also. Three hundred yards further east of it, and among the ruins of many graveyards is a still finer baoli of the date of 1516 A.D., known as the Rajonki-Bain, with a picturesque tomb and mosque on the west side of it. The details here show again how considerable a

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reversion to the Hindu style took place in the Lodi period.

Alai Darwazah.—Mr. Fanshawe's brief remarks on this are not only apposite but also just. He says :—

The Alai Darwazah is not only the most beautiful structure at the Kutab Minar, but is one of the most beautiful specimens of external polychronatic decoration not merely in India, but in the whole world, while the carving of interior may challenge comparison with any work of the kind. Both exterior and interior merit detailed and leisurely examination.

The effect of the graceful pointed arches in the three external sides of the gate, and in the corner recesses, is extremely pleasing, and the view from the exterior through the southern archway to the round-headed arch of the north side, and the courtyard beyond, is very striking. The decoration of the north arch is curious and unique. The effect of exterior suffers, from a distant point of view, from the absence of a parapet above the walls ; this was unfortunately removed by Captain Smith, as it was greatly ruined. The gate was finished five years before the emperor died, and is specially mentioned by the chronicler of his reign.

Ala-ud-din's Tomb.—To the south-east of Kutub Minar. It is fifty by thirty-two feet and is the last resting place of the parricide Ala-ud-din. It was repaired by Firoz Shah, the nephew of Muhammad Tughlak. Near it is to be seen a Mosque, in as ruined a condition as the tomb itself.

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Altamsh's Tomb.—Fergusson's remarks upon this tomb have already been quoted (See p. 57). The following further remarks are from Mr. Fanshawe :—

The tomb of the Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh behind the north-west corner of the mosque, is a very beautiful building of red sandstone, measuring forty-four feet square on the outside, and thirty feet square in the inside. The interior is profusely decorated with carving, only the lower portions of the wall in the two west angles, and to the right and left of the east door, remaining uncarved. These were covered with painting, a fragment of which—possibly a restored portion—may still be seen on the south wall; there are also traces of color on the beautiful mihrab, or prayer niche, of the west wall. The grave itself is a handsome structure of unusual height and size, with a band of text round the plinth which is also unusual. That the chamber was intended to be roofed is clear from the remains of the lowest course of a dome on the top of the south wall; but if it was built for her father by Sultan Raziya, as seems probable, it is quite possible that the dome was never completed.

Balban's Tomb.—About 1200 yards south of Kutub Minar. This is a square building, with massive walls, in which lies Sultan Ghiaz-ud-din Balban, who died in 1287 A.D. By his side lies his son, Sher Khan, who pre-deceased him by 2 years. The long chamber close by it is perhaps the Dar-ul-Aman (Haven of Refuge) referred to by Firoz Shah, who says, he added new sandalwood doors to it and hung curtains and hangings over the tombs.

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Imam Zamin Tomb.—This lies to the east of the Alai Gate of the Pithora Kila. It is of sandstone and marble and dates from 1539 A. D.

Iron Pillar.—In the court of the mosque is one of the most interesting memorials of Hindu supremacy in all India, and dates probably from the sixth century of our era. The inscription upon which this conjecture is based consists of six lines of neat letters: the three couplets merely record the erection of the pillar to Vishnu, by one Chandra Raja. There are also brief inscriptions by the Tuar Anangpal II, and a Chauhan Raja, the former commemorating a re-peopling of Delhi by the prince named in 1052 A. D. The pillar is 23 feet 8 inches high, and rests on a sort of gridiron arrangement under the platform from which it rises. It was long believed, on the authority of those who had made actual excavations, that it extended far below the surface of the ground, whereas the base is only 14 inches deep. The capital was no doubt once surmounted by a Garuda, the eagle vehicle of Vishnu, like the columns in front of the great temples of Jagannath at Puri. The Hindu legend connected with the pillar is that it rested on the head of the great world Serpent, and that a Tuar prince having unadvisedly moved it to see if this was really the case, the curse fell upon him that his kingdom too should be removed.

It has been described as the most unique of the many antiquities of India. How is it, without sign of rust, can iron manufacturers of the present day explain? The Colossus of Rhodes, another of the 7 wonders of the world, was wonderful,

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chiefly for its size, guarding the harbour of Rhodes, a ship in full sail could pass between its legs. But its brazen pieces were pointed and riveted. But this pillar is a *single shaft* of wrought iron weighing about 17 tons and measuring 50 feet in height. Fortunately the Saracens of Dehli were less mercenary than those of Rhodes, who sold their Colossus to a Jew for the price of brass, while this iron curio is left still as a puzzle to antiquaries. All honour be given to Kutub for leaving it in front of his Mosque.

Jamali Masjid.—About 1000 yards south of Kutub Minor. A pretty mosque built about 1528 A. D. restored by the British Government.

Kutub Minar.—Mr. Fanshawe writes:—There is no good reason for doubting that Kutab-ud-din-Aibak began the basement storey of the Kutab Minar—the name of the minaret in common parlance is much more probably derived from him than from the saint known as the Kutab Sahib,—any more than there is for doubting that it is entirely of Muhammadan origin, and was primarily intended to serve as a minaret to the mosque of that Sultan. The last is clear, not only from almost contemporary record, but also from the text from the Koran, chapter 62—The Assembly—on the second storey "Oh true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the day of Assembly, listen to the commemoration of God and leave merchandising.....The reward of God is better than any sport or merchandise, and God is the best provider."

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The lowest storey contains an inscription bearing the name of the first king of Delhi, and two others containing the name of his master, Muhammad-bin-sam, or Muhammad Ghori; the second and third and fourth storeys bear bands of inscription with the name of Altamsh: and the fifth storey one relating to a restoration in 1368 A.D. by Firoz Shah, who, no doubt, entirely rebuilt the two topmost storey of their original materials. On the entrance door to the Minar, which is modern, as is the railing of the first gallery, is an inscription of the year 1503 A. D. recording a restoration by Sikander Shah Lodi, which probably preserved the Minar till 300 years later, when it was thoroughly repaired by the British Government, only just in time apparently, to judge from Major Thorn's narrative of the events of 1803. The value of this restoration must not be lost sight of in the ridicule which has overtaken the officer in charge of the work, a certain Captain Smith, R. E., in connection with the cupola designed by him for the summit, and which still stands in the Kutab grounds. (Colonel Sleeman wrote, not unjustly, of this: "If Captain Smith's storey was anything like the original, the lightning did well to remove it.") One would have been disposed to believe that the original topmost storey was a simple pavilion borne by four, or possibly eight, arches—very likely flat Hindu arches—but this is not borne out by the drawings of the column in Franklin's book and by Daniell, though Ensign Jas. Blunt, who visited Delhi in 1794, says it was "crowned by a majestic cupola of red granite." It would add greatly to the effect of

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the column if a suitable cupola could be placed upon it.

The height of the Kutab Minar is 238 feet, and of the first gallery 95 feet. The lower storey has twenty-four flutings—alternately round and angular, the second has only rounded flutings, and the third only angular. The lune of each fluting is carried up unbroken through each storey and this adds greatly to the effect of the tower. The parapet of the first gallery appears to have been of a simple crenellated battlement form; the arrow-head pattern in the upper galleries is said to exist also in the Kalaun Mosque of Cairo. The outline of the column is not at first very pleasing to eyes accustomed to Gothic towers and spires, and from a distant point of view seems perhaps less graceful than when seen from nearer. But of the beauty of the warm color of the stone, of the splendid bands of texts and ornamentation which encircle it, and of the work on the under sides of the galleries, there can be no question. The lower bands* of inscription can be well seen from the top of the south-east corner of the Kutwat-ul-Islam Mosque and the Alai Gate; while charming views of the columns as a whole are obtained in framings of the centre arch of the Mosque screen and of

* The six bands of inscription in the basement storey contain: first, the designation and title of Kutb-ud-din; second, the titles and praise of Muhammad-bin-Sam; third, a verse from chapter 59 of the Koran; fourth, another recital, as in the second band; fifth, the ninety-seven Arabic names of the Almighty; and sixth, a verse from the Koran, chapter 2. The verse regarding the call to prayer is on the second storey.

the last of Altamsh's arches to the south, and other beautiful glimpses from every side will be enjoyed by those who have time to wander round the outskirts of the general enclosure.

For the rest, it is again sufficient to quote what Mr. Fergusson writes in this connection:

"It is probably not too much to assert that the Kutab Minar is the most beautiful example of its class known to exist anywhere.* The rival which will occur at once to most people is the Campanile at Florence, built by Giotti. This is, it is true, 30 feet taller, but it is crushed by the mass of the Cathedral alongside; and beautiful though it is, it wants that poetry of design and exquisite finish of detail which marks every moulding of the Minar."

It will interest many to note the plumb line of the tower on a stone in the south side of its basement.

The number of steps to the top of the Kutab is 379. The view from there is very striking, but is practically as extensive from the first gallery. At the foot of the column are seen spread out the mosque and all the buildings which surround it. A little further off lie the encircling lines of the defences of Lal Kot, and Kila Rai Pithora rising highest to the west, and bounded there by the dark wall of the heavy Idgah of Old Delhi. Across the plain north of Rai Pithora's fort may be traced the Jahanpanah embankments, running towards the ruined walls of Siri, which do not, however,

* Bishop Heber too recorded that the Kutub Minar was the finest tower he had ever seen.

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show up from here; the massive dark block of the Begampur Mosque, however, indicates their position. Above Jahanpanah, and to the north-west rises the depressed pale dome of the tomb of the Emperor Firoz Shah in Hauz Khas, and beyond it the bright pointed dome of Safdar Jang's tomb, and almost in a line with it the still brighter of the Jamma Masjid of Delhi. To the east of Safdar Jang appear the long wall defences of the Purana Kila, with the low white roof of Nizam-ud-din, and the high marble dome of the Emperor Humayun's tomb below them. South of these again is the popular Kalka temple on the rising ground, and below this, and nearly due east of the Kutab, are the fortresses of Tughlakabad and Adilabad, with the low white dome of Tughlak Shah's tomb between them. Nearer and to the north of the road to Tughlakabad are the large groves of trees which mark the Hauz Rani and Khirki, while south of the road and close to the Kutab are the Jamali Mosque and the lofty ruins of the tomb of the Sultan Balban, and under it on the south the Dargah of the Kutab Sahib, and the houses of Mahrauli half hidden in trees.

A recent writer thus writes of it :—

This beautiful column, one of the seven architectural wonders of the world, is reasonably held to have originally been Hindu work, begun by Prithi Raj as a tower of victory on his defeat of the Moslems in 1191, or as others say, as a tower whence his daughter might view the sacred Jumna. The architecture is admittedly Hindu, overlaid with verses from the Koran. The builder recorded his invocation to Visvakarma, the celestial

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architect of the Hindus. After the death of Prithi Raj, and the occupation of Delhi by the Turki general, Kutab adapted it. Nothing could have suited his purpose better, from its height as a mazinah, or minar, whence the Muezzin called the faithful to prayer. The flutings on the shaft are conjectured to have been done by the Moslems to remove obnoxious images. This seems the view to which evidence points, but we enter into no controversy. Beside it stood a beautiful temple, on the site now occupied by the mosque, and it is the general tradition in Delhi among old men with whom I have spoken that both Minar and Mosque are simple adaptations of Hindu work. If this is the case, we may well call Kutab, Slave or not, the most sensible of rulers. For how much better is the adaptation to other uses of a thing of beauty, than its demolition? The richly traced, beautiful forest of Hindu pillars which form the superb colonnade of the Mosque are remains of the Palace of Prithi Raj.

Kutub Mosque.—The mosque of Kutab-ud-din known as the Kuwat-ud-Islan, or "Might of Islam," is, roughly speaking, 150 feet to the front and back, and half as much again from side to side; the open court-yard in the centre of it is 108 feet by 142 feet. The gates on the east and north sides are still complete, and bear inscriptions relating to the foundation. The gate on the south side has disappeared together with much of the west end and the whole of the western colonnade of the south wall. Though built entirely of Hindu, or rather Jain materials, every

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portion of the mosque was rebuilt by the conquerors: the opinions that the plinth of the court and the pillars behind the great screen of arches are *in situ* as erected by the Hindus, are equally erroneous. Orginally the exterior of the walls was, no doubt, entirely covered by plaster, as the column's inside were, but this has all disappeared. The view through the east gate is very pleasing and the view down the vista of columns on either side of the central dome of the east corridor is extremely beautiful. This corridor is practically complete, but only about three-quarters of the north corridor are so, and very little of the south corridor and plainer columns now remains. The most beautiful columns are in the north side of the east arcade and the carving of flower vases with foliage falling from them, conventional leopards' heads with garlands, ropes with tassels, bells on chains, and many floral designs, deserve to be carefully examined. On the fifth pillar to the north from the centre in the second row from the wall is a relief of a cow and a calf, and in the same line, fifth, on the edge of the courtyard, is, perhaps, the most beautiful of all the pillars. Many half-effaced Jain figures, and not a few undamaged ones, which could be completely concealed by the plaster, will be noticed on the columns.

The galleries in the corner of the arcade should be visited both for the sake of the beautiful ceilings of the domes and the carved scenes with elephants and horses on the beams across the corner of the side compartments of the roof; the numbering on the various stones of the pillars

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under the south gallery is interesting. The carved scene on the stone above the second window from the front on the outer side of the north wall should also be noticed. It represents, in a mediæval way, the birth of Krishna, the child and its nurse being shown several times over in the same scene. The two scenes are divided by a half open door and at the end of that towards the west are represented a cow and a calf which produces a strong resemblance to the Sacred Manger scene.

The floor of the courtyard is slightly higher than that of the arcades, and drains are cut through the latter to the outside. The iron pillar stands in the centre of the court, as measured from north to south, rather more than half way up the west half of it; besides the pillar there are several graves in the area, and it is tempting to believe that Kutab-ud-din-Aibak himself may have been buried here after his death from a polo accident at Lahore, though tradition says otherwise.

The great screen of arches which form the most striking feature of the mosque, like that at Ajmir, bears no proportion to the height of the arcades any more than the Kutab Minar does, but this is not really noticeable. It is not necessary to add anything to Mr. Fergusson's description of the screen and its beauties:—

"The glory of the mosque is not in these Hindu remains, but in the great range of arches on the western side, extending north and south for about 385 feet, and consisting of three greater and eight smaller arches; the central one 22 feet

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wide and 53 feet high; the larger side-arches 24 feet and 4 inches, and about the same height as the central arch; the smaller arches, which are unfortunately much ruined, are about half these dimensions. Behind this, at the distance of 32 feet, are the foundations of another wall; but only intended, apparently to be carried as high as the roof of the Hindu pillars it encloses. It seems probable that the Hindu pillars between the two screens were the only part proposed to be roofed since some of them are built into the back part of the great arches, and all above them is quite plain and smooth without the least trace of any intention to construct a vault or roof of any sort.

The arches built by Hindu architects are carried up in horizontal courses as far as possible and are then closed by long slabs.

"The same architects" Mr. Fergusson continues, "were employed by their masters to ornament the faces of these arches; and this they did by copying and repeating the ornaments on the pillars and friezes on the opposite sides of the courts covering the whole with a lace-work of intricate and delicate carving such as no other mosque except that at Ajmir ever received before or since and which...is, without exception, the most exquisite specimen of its class known to exist anywhere."

The details of the ornamentaion deserve prolonged examination by the aid of field-glasses. The bands text in the Tughra character are particularly fine and the graceful effect of them is much enhanced by the tendril pattern with flowers and bud, which is carried up through the lettering. A similar aid in a very different style of decoration is noticeable in the beautiful bands of texts

of encaustic tiles upon a ground of sprays and leaves on the lovely Shah-zindah tombs in Samarkand.

The difference in the decoration of the arches of Kutab-ud-din and Altamsh is considerable in detail, but this is not noticeable at a distance. The stone used in the former was of a much paler color, and the ornamentation of the latter arches does not seem to rise so spontaneously or give so aspiring an effect to the facade, a difference which is no doubt accentuated by the panels of diaper work between them.

Of the pillars which carried the roof of the hall of the Mosque in front of which the great screen was placed, two groups of twelve and ten alone remain. On one of the columns of the southern group is an inscription with the name of a Mutawali, or Guardian, which appears again beyond the first rounded shaft to the west of the door of the Kutab Minar, thus showing the two structures were of much the same date.

The additions made by the Sultan Altamsh to the original work of Kutab-ud-din, more than doubled the area enclosed by the mosque and the extensions of Ala-ud-din would again have increased the dimensions to more than twofold, but it seems probable that, like the Alai Minar, these were never wholly completed, in spite of the high-flown admiration of them thus expressed by Amir Khusrau in his "Tarikh-i-Alai":—

"He (the Emperor) determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid-Jama of Shamsuddin, by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth with lofty pillars.....and upon the surface of the stones he

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engraved verses of the Koran in such a manner as could not be done even in wax, ascending so high that you would think the Koran was going up to heaven, and again descending in another line so low, you would think it was coming down from heaven. He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minar of the Jama Masjid, which minar was then the sole (unique) one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the Masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islam. He ordered the circumference of the new minar to be made, double that of the old one, and that it should be made higher in the same proportion, and he directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one."

The core of the piers of the arches in the further extension of the screen to the north designed by Ala-ud-din still stands, as do the ruins of the gates to the enlarged courtyard on this side; these gates would no doubt have been somewhat similar to the Alai Darwazah. In the middle of this extension to the north would have risen the Alai minaret, of which the stupendous base stands most probably just as the workmen left it on the death of its projector, nearly 600 years ago. It is fortunate, no doubt, that it was never finished, as it would have completely overshadowed and destroyed the effect of the original Kutab Minar, situated at the south-east angle of the original court of the mosque.

Writing of the mosque as a whole, Amir Khusrau says :—

"Masjid-i-o Jam feiz-i-Allah;
Zamzama-i-Khutba-i-o taba mah."
"The mosque of it is the depository of the grace of God;
The music of the prayer of it reaches to the sky (moon)."

Ibn Batuta wrote of it: "Its mosque is very large, and in beauty and extent has no equal. Before the taking of Delhi it had been a Hindu temple. In its court there is a pillar which, they say, is composed of stones from seven quarries."

The Hindus, it may be noted, still sometimes speak of the mosque as the Thakurdawara and Chausath Khambhe, or the "Sixty-Pillared." The mosque was repaired by Firoz Shah Tughlak, as was the Kutab Minar—was the scene of a grim massacre by Timur's soldiery,—and was immensely admired by that Sultan, who carried off workmen to construct a similar one in Samarkand, which, however, was never built. A bloody slaughter had already taken place inside the mosque in the reign of Altamsh, when a body of Karmatian heretics, who had taken refuge there, were exterminated by volleys of stones from the roof of the arcades and mailed horsemen riding up the steps into the enclosure.

Kutb Sahib Darga.—About a mile and a half south by west of Kutub Minor and so-called after the saint, Kutub-ud-din Bukthiar Kaki, a man of Guzerat who died at Delhi about 1235. It is said by some that the Kutub Minar is named after him, but there seems to be little truth in this tradition. He was surnamed Kaki, because he was, according to local tradition, fed by a saint with the small cake termed *Kak*, specimens of which are still given, to those who pay for them. In the Mahal Sarai here, the latest Delhi Kings spent the summer months. Here sleep most of these kings too from Bahadur Shah, the successor of Aurangazeb downwards. The space reserved for the tomb

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of the Bahadur Shah, who lies buried at Rangoon, is still pointed out here.

The grave is a plain earthen mound, covered by a cloth and surrounded by low marble railing. A canopy is suspended over it from four marble columns in the court. A number of other graves lie round it. "Many other servants of God," writes Abul Fazl, "instructed in divine knowledge, in this spot repose in their last sleep." The west wall of the enclosure is decorated by tiles of green and yellow in alternate rows. This work is indifferently ascribed to Shekh Farid-ud-din Shakarganj who came to Dehli upon the death of his master, and to Aurangzeb. Probably the former built the wall as a place for prayer, and the latter added the decoration. Outside the south-east corner of the enclosure is the mosque of the Khwaja Kutabuddin, much renovated and added to since his time.

A little to the south-west of the grave is a little Badli (or well), at the head of which Zabita Khan, the Rohilla chief sleep his eternal sleep. Some fine views may be obtained from the head of this once fine tank.

Mahrauli.—About 3 miles south-west of Kutub Minar, and on the road side. Its fair has already been referred to (see p. 36). To its north-east is the Dargah of Kutub Sahib separately described There is a bazaar here and it presents a most animated spectacle during the time of the Fair—the Punkah Mela (Lit. Fan Fair). The tomb at the north-west angle of the bazaar is that of a brother of Adham Knan (p. 177). To the west of the village

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is the Hauz Shamsi, a reserved well constructed by Altamsh which, when full with water, should have looked exquisitely fine. To its east is the Jhirha garden, into which the tank empties itself and in which are some fine old trees. Amongst the buildings to the north of this garden must be noted the Jehaz (or ship), a red sandstone structure consisting of an old mosque and a newer courtyard.

Malakpur.—About 6 miles from Kutub Minar and 3 to the west of Mahrauli. Here is the tomb called Sultan Ghani, where sleeps Nasir-ud-din, the eldest son of Altamsh, who pre-deceased his father. Mr. Fanshawe's description is worth quoting here :—

It is situated in the centre of a stone enclosure raised high above the ground, which, with its sloping corner towers, seems to have been a forerunner of the mosques in the severe Pathan style, if indeed it was not restored in that style. The picturesque gateway is constructed in the same manner as the screen arches at the Kutub Mosque. The marble tomb chamber itself is mainly underground, only the roof and the walls, which supported it appearing above the level of the platform, and is approached by a steep flight of narow steps. From this peculiar arrangement the name of the mausoleum (Ghar-cave) is derived. The roof is borne by stone beams arranged as in mosques made up from Jain materials. The inscription on the gate gives to the son the title of Malik-i-Maluk-ush-Sharak, Lord of the Eastern countries, as he died while governor of Lakhnauti,

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the modern Dacca. At the south-east angle of the enclosure on the outside were two fine domed canopies over the graves of Sultans Rukn-ud-din and Muiz-ud-din, also sons and short-lived successors of Altamsh; but one of these has fallen, and the other will fall unless it is speedily secured. In front of the mausoleum are various buildings of the severe middle Pathan style, including a fine mosque.

TUGHLAKABAD.

About nine miles almost due south of Delhi. Here are the palace and tomb of Tughlak Shah, who was murdered by his son Muhammad Shah Tughlak in 1324. A visitor to Delhi should not miss them. "There are few great ruins," says Mr. Fanshawe, "or buildings in the world which I have not seen, and I recommend to a visit these advisedly." The citadel and the tomb were built between 1321-3, both being thus finished within the short space of two years. As a recent writer observes:

Of all the Moslem fortresses in India, that of of Tughlakabad was the greatest. Its stupendous size, solidity, and massive strength give it an air of impressive dignity rarely parallelled. These were the vast ruins which called forth Bishop Heber's oft-quoted remark, that the Patans built like giants and finished their work like jewellers. But the occupancy of the good king of his new fortress came to a cruel end, for like good old Jelal-ud-din, the first Khilji, the first Tughlak had nursed a viper in his bosom, in the form of an ambitious son. He had been in Bengal and in Dacca attending

to state business, and returning to Dehli, a public welcome was prepared for him by his son Mahomed Taghlak. Entering the pavilion of reception it suddenly collapsed, crushing him to death. Called an "accident," no one doubted the fall was contrived by his son, and like Ala he chose the moment of welcome for the murderous design. He promptly mounted the throne and like the-hypocritical lawyers of old set about building his father a "garnished sepulchre." Few princes have been born with more brilliant gifts than Juna Khan, known as Mahomed Tughlak, and few have made a worse use of them. Nothing could be in worse taste than the murder of a good father and nothing could be in better taste than the tomb built over him. The splendid mausoleum known as Tughlak's Tomb adjoins the fort and standing in the midst of an artificial lake, surrounded by the bold towers of the fortifications, in the stern beauty of its strength, it forms an ideal tomb for a warrior race. Perhaps, as suspicion said, it was the parricide's atonement. There the first Taughlak reposes, the queen mother by his side, and the son mingling his dust with both. Mahomed Tughlak, a most accomplished man, was his own and his country's curse through an unbridled temper. Wilful, proud, wayward, with a fierce and cruel heart, and a strong will, absolute power was his ruin. He wrecked what might have been a great career from lack of self-rule. Verily, "he that ruleth his spirit is greater than he that taketh a city." He had the making of a great king in him, but became instead a great despot. With a gifted intellect but utterly

without mental ballast he was one of the most wrong-headed princes who ever ruled the Delhi Empire. His ferocity of temper might be said to reach the point of insanity and as a General he cared no more for the life of his men than for as many mosquitos. To this day he is spoken of as the *Khuni Shah* or bloody king. His reign was a succession of impracticable and vain-glorious projects which ended in nothing but ruin to his kingdom and misery and death to thousands of his subjects.

Muhammad Tughlak gave up the city in favour of Daulatabad and though again repeopled, it was finally abandoned on the founding of Firozabad. Tradition states that its destruction was due to the curse (*Become the home of the Gujar or be abandoned*) of Nizam-ud-din Awlia, in accordance with which the city, it is said, has been long deserted and is the habitation of a couple of Gujar villages. The real cause of its permanent abandonment is said to be the badness of its water and the insalubrity of its site. Mr. Fanshawe who suggests this, adds :—

The great size of the stones used in the wall, the triple storeyed towers, the high parapet, backed inside by terraces with rooms and the lofty gates, are all very imposing. Perhaps the most impressive bit of all is the south-east bastion of the citadel and the east wall above it. The path through the gate above-mentioned leads past a large reservoir hewn in the rock; beyond it to the north-west are ruins of the palace and stables and of a fine mosque. From the tank the track ascends to

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an outwork below the principal gate of the citadel, which must have been a very fine and strong portal, and then winds through ruins to the highest point of all, upon which some royal building no doubt stood. Below this, on the west was a very deep (baoli) tank for the use of the defenders of the citadel, and all round are underground passages, off which the servants and slaves of the king had quarters. These should not be lightly entered, as they still occasionally harbour leopards and hyenas, and a tiger has within the last twenty years been known to take refuge in them. An extremely fine view to the north is obtained from the top of the citadel—on clear days it includes the domes of the Jama Masjid of Dehli—and to the east are seen many blue curves of the Jumna stream.

The tomb of Tughlak Shah rising above the fortress walls which surround it, is perhaps one of the most picturesque buildings in Modern Dehli; and when it stood reflected on all sides in the lake below, it must have presented a spectacle of unusual beauty. It is impossible to improve on Mr. Fergusson's description of it;

"When the stern old warrior, Tughlak Shah, founded the new Dehli, which still bears his name, he built a tomb, not in a garden, as was usually the case, but in a strongly fortified citadel in the middle of an artificial lake. The sloping walls and almost Egyptian solidity of this mausoleum, combined with the bold and massive towers of the fortifications that surround it, form a picture of a warrior's tomb unrivalled anywhere, and a singular contrast with the elegant and luxuriant garden tombs of the more settled and peaceful dynasties that succeeded."

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The red sandstone gateway, with its sloping face and jambs and head in the earlier Pathan style, contrasts finely with the dark walls and rounded towers in which it stands, and the trees which overshadow it. The interior of the fortress is much smaller than one would suppose from the outside, and except for the pointed corner to the east, is almost filled, by the tomb. This is the earliest building of which the walls have a very decided slope. They are of red sandstone, relieved in the upper portion by a very sparing use of white marble. The marble slabs of the dome are not well fitted. This may be due to the fact that the dome was the first attempt of its kind in India, but the people of the west village in the fort, who were removed there from the tomb, have a dreadful tale, that the slabs were stripped off after 1857 and were ordered to be sold, but were finally replaced. The interior of the tomb, which is rather larger than that of the Sultan Balban, is very plain, but decidedly effective. It contains three graves, the centre one being that of his son, the Khunj Sultan, at the head of which Firoz Shah placed the propitiatory chest. In the north-west corner of the enclosure is a small tomb-chamber, with an arcade round it, containing a number of graves.

Corresponding to the mausoleum at the east end of the lake, and connected with the south-east corner of the defences of Tughlakabad city by an immense embankment, is the ruined fortress of Adilabad, or Muhammadabad. This is entered by a fine gate on the west face, and affords a very charming view from above; it was possibly a

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water palace, like the splendid buildings at Mandu known by that name. The east face of the embankment is forty feet high; between it and the walls of Tughlakabad city is a fine sluice cut in the solid rock. A mile beyond this is an isolated fortified little hill, known as the Nai's (or Barber's) Fort. This was apparently a College (Madrasa), or the retreat of some holy personage, and was probably fortified as such against a possible Moghul attack.

About two and a half miles south-east of Adilabad is a fine masonry tank, and near it a very fine masonry "band", known as the Surajkund and Arrangpur Band. These date from the eighth century, and are therefore among the oldest Hindu works near Old Delhi. Both are extremely picturesque, and well worth visiting. A long flight of steps lead down to the tank from a temple on the west side. The band is nearly three hundred feet long, and more than sixty feet high in the centre, where a small spring (Jhir) rises from under it.

Badarpur.—At the junction of the Delhi and Muttra roads. Eight miles from Nizam-ud-din's Darga. It is built in the interior of an old imperial serai.

Khirki.—About 3 miles south-west of Tughlakabad. The mosque of Khirki is the most interesting of all the old Pathan mosques, and like that of Gulbergah, not far removed from it in date, and the much earlier one of Cordova built in the last quarter of the ninth century, is a covered mosque, which is a rare arrangement, broken in this instance by four open quadrangles in the middle

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of the arcades. It was built by Jahan Khan in 1380, much about the same time as the Kalan and Begampur mosques and some years subsequently to that of Nizam-ud-din which it resembles most. The exterior measurement of the mosque gives a dimension of 193 feet each way. (The Gulbargah mosque is 216 by 176 feet). The sides of the quadrangles are thirty-two feet square and have three arches, each quadrangle is surrounded by pillared spaces of the same area as itself, and the total number of arches from front to back and from side to side being fifteen. The plain square columns which carry them are fourfold at the corners of the courts, and twofold round the courts; the columns of the arcades in line with the former are double, and with the latter single, and the effect of the play of light and shade looking down the vistas of them and across the courts is very picturesque. A separate recess projects in the centre of the west wall, forming a mihrab. After 1857 the mosque was cleared of the villagers who had settled in it.

Two hundred yards north of the Khirki mosque is an extremely pretty sandstone pavilion, with pierced screens over the grave of Yusaf Katal, and half a mile north of this, and 500 yards east the Begampur mosque, is a handsome tomb of red sandstone, sloping walls raised on a high base surmounted by a white marble dome, very similar in general appearance to that of Tughlak Shah. This, which is known as the Lal Gumbaz, is the grave of Kabir-ud-din Aulia, son of Yusaf Katal, and grandson of Shekh Farid-ud-din Shakarganj of Pakpattan. The tomb was built by Sultan

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Muhammad Tughlak, and so considerably smaller than that of his father—the internal measurements being twenty-nine feet, and the external forty-five, as compared with thirty-eight and sixty-one feet. The interior of the dome is of red sandstone, and from the centre hang nine chains for lamps over the graves on the floor; at the head of that of the Aulia, is an elaborate lamp pillar. The pierced red sandstone grilles in the north and south walls of the tomb are very fine. East of the village of Khirki in the line of the defences of Jahanpanah is a fine work of masonry forming a sluice for the stream which enters here, known as the Sat Palah, or Seven Arches, built by Muhammad Tughlak Shah, in 1326 A. D. Half a mile to the north of this is the shrine of Nazir-ud-din Muhammad, known as Chiragh Delhi (the Lamp of Delhi), the disciple of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, and last saint of renown at Delhi, who died in 1356 A. D. The walls which enclose the shrine and village, and a huge untenanted area were built by the Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1729, and rise finely above the banks of the depression, which had worn under them a deep bed, once spanned by a bridge, as also by another lower down its course. A picturesque gate in the west wall leads to the shrine between the tomb of Bahlol Lodi and a mosque. The Dargah is entered from the east by a gate built by Firoz Shah in 1373 A. D. The tomb chamber is surmounted by a dome of red sandstone surrounded by a broad dripstone: it has been much modernised at various times. A gold cup hangs over the grave, as in the Khizri mosque at Nizam-ud-din.

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In the north-west corner of the enclosure is a fine Assembly Hall. The tomb of Sultan Bahlol Lodi (died 1488 A. D.) is occupied by the attendants of the Dargah, so that only its exterior can be seen. It is of unusual shape for a tomb, having fine domes over it; the details of the sandstone decoration are all Hindu. To the front of it on the south side is a grave enclosure surrounded by a very beautiful pierced screen of red sandstone, which contrasts happily with the green shade above it.

Close by it are to be seen the Haus Rani, (the Queen's Tank); an old Bridge known as Satpala; and the eastern mounds which mark the easter defences of Rai Pithora Kila.

SHAHJAHANABAD.

Accounts of the founding and present condition of Shahjahanabad have been already given in Chapters III and IV. The more important places of interest are noted below.

Badli-ki-Sarai. West of the Ridge and about two miles from Bawari Plain. It was with the village of Pipal Thalla close it, the scene of the battlefield of the June 8th 1857.

Bawari Plain.—West of the Ridge, close to Wazirabad was the site of the Imperial Durbar of 1877 and of the Coronation Durbar of 1903.

Cambridge Mission House.—Near the Western end of Queen's Road, across the Canal; over a mile from the Lahore gate of the Fort. The former residence of Nawab Safdar Jang, nephew and successor of the first Nawab Wazir of Oudh and his own successors.

Chandni Chauk.—Or Silver Street, opposite the Lahore Gate of the Fort. For a description of it

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see chapter V (p. 89). Little of its past glory now remains. *(Sic Transit, &c.)* There is a Clock Tower, named after Lord Northbrook about the centre of the street. It is on the site of an old sarai erected by Princess Jahnnara Begam. In front of the Police Station (the old Kotwali) most of the Mutineers were hung on a specially erected gallows and here also were exposed the bodies of the three royal princes who were shot at by Cap. Hodson on the 18th September, an act which has been uniformly condemned both by contemporary and later writers on the Mutiny. Most of the important offices including the Queen's Gardens, the Municipal office and the Museum are in this famous old street.

City Walls.—The City of Shahjahanabad is surrounded by walls on all sides, pierced with gates called the Delhi Gate, Ajmere Gate, Lahore Gate, Kabul Gate and Kashmir Gate. They are best seen on the northern side, where they were constructed by the British Government between 1804—1811 after the Mahratta attack on the city, at which time the Kashmir Gate was also rebuilt. In 1857, the British had to batter down the wall they had themselves reared.

Dariaganj.—About half a mile south of the Delhi Gate, and close to Fiaz Bazaar. In the garden here is quartered the Native Regiment of the Delhi garrison. Mr. Fanshawe says :

This was the original cantonment of Delhi after 1803; but the garrison was subsequently located beyond the Ridge, and in the Mutiny the quarter was mainly occupied by subordinates of the Arsenal, and of various

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departments of Government. The house held by them was that now numbered 5, the first on the left beyond the road leading up and from the Khairati Gate, by which, as by the Raj Ghat Gate, the mutineers of the Third Light Cavalry entered the city on finding the Calcutta Gate closed, and being directed by Captain Douglas to leave the ground below the king's apartments in the palace. On the north side of the road above the Khairati Gate is the mosque of Zinat-ul-Masajid, or beauty of mosques, built in 1700 by one* of the daughters of the Emperor Aurangazeb. The building is a fine one, and well deserves a visit: the steps leading up to it from the roadway are particularly picturesque. The mosque was used for military purposes for many years after 1857, and during that time the tomb of the foundress, which stood on the north side of the enclosure, was removed.

Delhi Bank.—North of Chadni Chauk, was the former residence of Begam Samru. The outhouse from the top of which Mr. Beresfood, the former Manager of the Bank, defended himself and his family on 11th May 1857 is still pointed out here.

Delhi Museum.—In the Chandni Chauk, past the Municipal Office. The special Moghul art collection here should not, amongst other interesting things, be missed.

Dufferin Hospital.—To the east of the Jama Musjid, one the biggest of its kind in the Punjab,

* Another of these, it will be recollected, is represented by Thomas Moore as Lalla Rookh (Lala Rukh).

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so called after Lord Dufferin, who laid the foundation stone for it.

Fatahpur Masjid.—At the western end of the Chandni Chauk, about a mile from the Lahore Gate of the Fort. Built by one of the wives of Shah Jahan and restored to Muhammadans for purposes of worship in 1876. The mosque is well worth a visit, whose architectural beauty is enhanced by the garden close by it.

Fort.—Commonly called Lal Kila built by Shah Jehan between 1638-46. Its two imposing and beautiful gateways are the Lahore and Delhi gateways, which ought not to be missed. The Lahore Gate had, in olden days, before it a garden and above it an open square. Then came the fine broad street, (which still exists) the Chandni Chauk through whose middle ran a stream of water, now closed. Inside the Fort are the Pearl Mosque, the Diwan-i-Aum (Hall of Audience), the Jalan Khana (Private Audience Hall) and the Diwan-i-Khas, and the Rang Mahal (formerly the Royal Zenana and now the Mess of the Fort Officers). Fergusson's description of the Fort cannot be added to in any way. (See Chap. V.).

Ghazikhan's Tomb.—Near the Ajmere Gate just above the Circular Road. It is worthy of a visit. As Mr. Fanshawe says:—

As one of the few specimens of a religious endowment, similar to those of the middle ages in Europe, comprising a place of worship, the tomb of the founder, and a residence and a place of instruction of those who were to have charge of both, all built in his lifetime. Ghazi-ud-din was the son of the first Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad.

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He became the leading noble of the Delhi Court when his father returned to the Deccan after the events of 1739, and died in 1752 A. D., on his way to assert his succession to the Hyderabad Territories. The courtyard, approached through a gateway of which the wings are thrown forward, is surrounded on three sides by a double tier of chambers for students, like the colleges of Samarkand and Bokhara: on the west side of the mosque built of very deep coloured red sandstone, and with a very rounded dome, fills the centre, and the south of it is the grave of the founder, enclosed by a beautiful pierced screen of fawn-coloured stone, with doors elaborately carved with flowers. This corner is, perhaps, quite one of the most picturesque bits in Delhi. For a long time the building, which had been closed eighty years after the founder's death for want of funds, was occupied by the police: it is now again devoted to educational purposes in connection with the Anglo-Arabic School.

Golden Mosque of Roshan-ud-dowlah.—A Bakshi of Muhammad Shah Emperor of Delhi, who carved a great name for himself as a systematic bribe-taker. In it sat Nadir Shah when the temple massacre of 1739 was going on in the city.

Idgah-ki-Sarai.—About a mile south by west of the Kabul gate. Is a fine old Sarai.

Jain Temple.—About 200 yards north-west of the Jama Masjid called also Saraoji Temple. (See Chapter V. p. 37).

Jama Masjid.—About half mile west of the Delhi Gate of the Fort. For a description of this beautitul Mosque. (See Chapter V. p. 66.)

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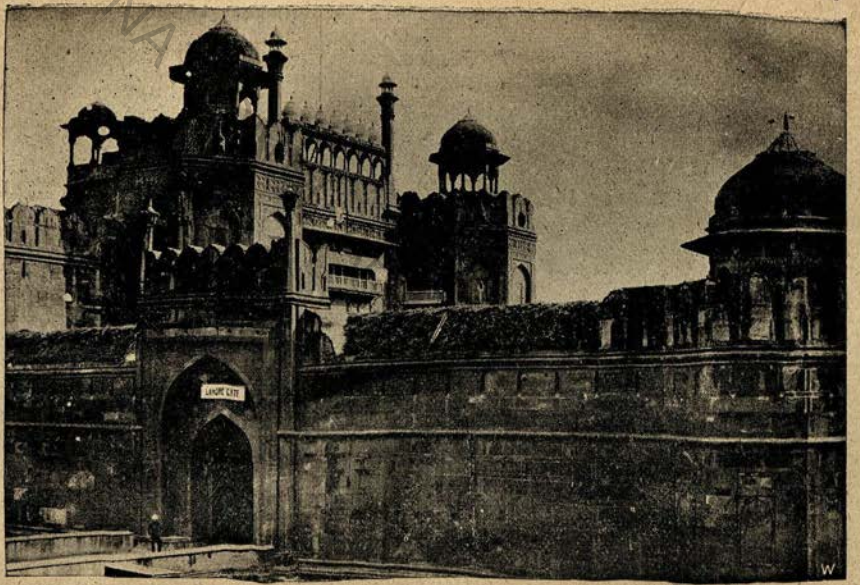

THE DELHI GATE, DELHI FORT.

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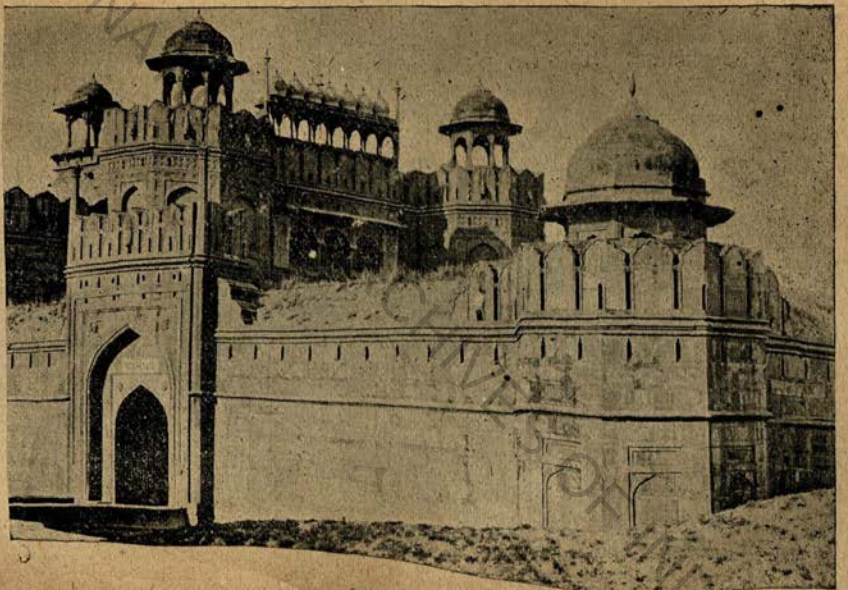
THE CASHMERE GATE, DELHI.



LAHORE GATE.

MANOHAR CHRISTIAN LIBRARY

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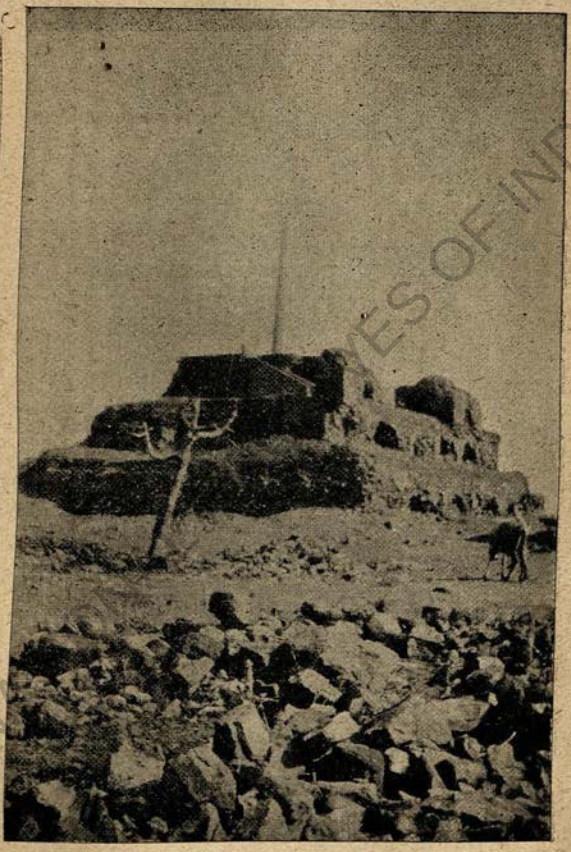
ALA-UD-DIN'S GATE, DELHI.



ASOKA'S PILLAR, OLD DELHI.

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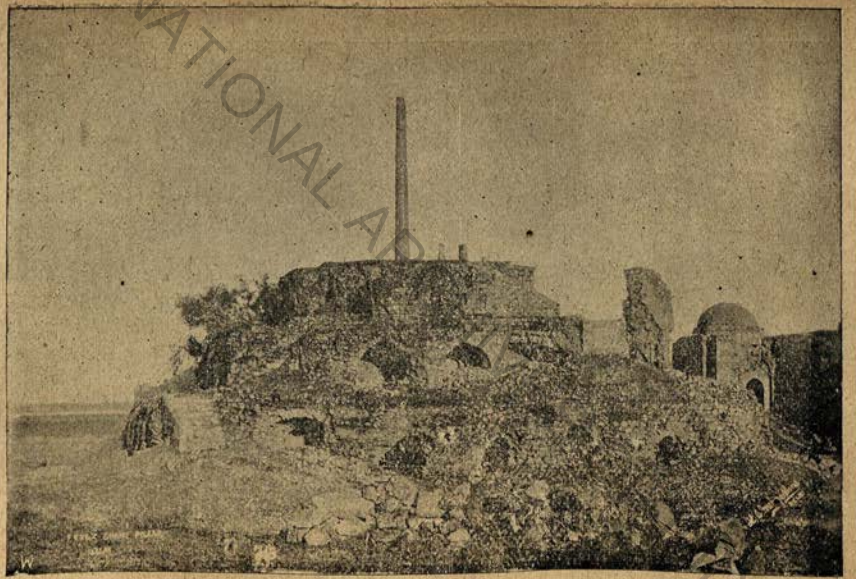

FEROZ SHAH'S PILLAR, DELHI.

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Kadam Sharif.—About a mile and a half south by west of the Kabul Gate. Here lies buried in a beautiful building (1375) Firoz Shah's eldest son, Fatah Khan, over whose grave is the sacred imprint in a trough of water, sent by the Khalifa of Baghdad (hence the name which *Holy Foot-print*) to Firoz Shah. The fine Idgah to the north-west of it, past the Ridge, is well worth visiting too.

Kalan Masjid.—Or Black Mosque. A little to the south west of Jama Masjid. Built about 1380, and was the chief mosque of Firoz Shah's time. Close by here is pointed out the grave of Sultan Raziyah, the first Empress of Delhi.

Kudsia Gardens.—Outside the city walls, on the Jumna about half a mile north of the Kashmir Gate. These were constructed by the Kudsi Begam mother of the Emperor Ahmed Shah, whose reign was the culminating decay of the Moghal Empire. The walls which formerly enclosed it have been removed for the most part, and the river which once flowed under the terrace, on the east side, is now far away from it; but the fine though ruined gateway remains, and a handsome mosque, still bearing marks of the siege of 1857, stands near the south-east corner of the public recreation grounds. In the Kudsia Garden are the sides of the Mortar Battery, and of Siege Battery No. III. Opposite the south end are the breaches of the Water Bastion and Kashmir Bastion, and outside the south-west corner are the Nicholson garden and the cemetery where General Nicholson lies. At the north-west corner stands Ludlow Castle, the residence of the Commissioner, Mr. Simon Fraser, in 1857, and now the Delhi Club.

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The site of the left section of No. II Siege Battery is the grounds of the Club, near the east wall.

Metcalfe House.—About a mile almost due north of Kashmir Gate. Built by Sir T. T. Metcalfe, Member of the Civil Service. Gallantly assisted the Military during the storming of Delhi, for which he was thanked by the Government of India. He lies buried in St. James' Church (*q.v.*). Metcalfe House must once have been a very fine mansion, and it still rises effectively on the high bank of the Jumna. Beneath it were a number of apartments, and below the terrace on the river side of it was a series of underground rooms, arranged for occupation in the summer. It was in the latter that the refugees with whom Lieut. Vibert escaped from Delhi were concealed for a brief period by the servants of the house.

Municipal School.—Between the St. James' Church and the Post Office, about ½ mile from the Lahore Gate of the Fort. On the same side of the road, 600 yards from the Kashmir Gate, is the Municipal High School, in a building with a high pseudo-classical columns in the front. This was originally the house of the famous Mardan Ali Khan, and was for many years after 1803, occupied by the Resident at the Court of Delhi, and afterwards by the Delhi Government College, given up in 1883.

Mutiny Sites.—See Chap. V. P. 76.

Old Magazine.—Near the Telegraph and Post Offices, about ½ mile from the Lahore Gate of the Fort. This was the magazine that was fired in 1857. A tablet on it marks the great event, and the inscription on it goes:

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On 11th May 1857.

NINE RESOLUTE ENGLISHMEN,

LT. GEO. DOBREE WILLOUGHAY, Bengal Artillery,

In Command

Lieutenant William Raynor.
Conductor G. William Shaw.
Conductor John Scully.
Sergeant Bryan Edwards.
Lieutenant Geo. Forrest.
Conductor John Buckley.
Sub-Conductor William Crow.
Sergeant Peter Stewart.

Defended the Magazine of Dehli for more than four hours against large numbers of the rebels and mutineers, untill the walls being scaled, and all hope of succour gone, these brave men fired the Magazine. Five of the gallant band perished in the explosion, which at the same time destroyed many of the enemy.

THIS TABLET.

Making the former entrance gate to the Magazine is placed here by the Government of India.

To the south of the Magazine is the first Christian graveyard of Delhi, the earliest tombstone in it being dated 1808.

Ouchterlony Gardens.—Also known as Mubarik Bagh, about 3½ miles from the Kabul Gate. Said to have been one of the finest of the old gardens of Delhi.

Patpargunj.—About 5 miles south-east of the city on the eastern bank of the Jumna. It was

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the scene of the battle (of Delhi) fought by Lord Lake against the Mahrattas on 11th September 1803. This village is now nearly deserted. The following account of the battle is taken from Mr. Fanshawe's book :—

This place, from which the battlefield is named locally, is slightly in advance of the right of the position occupied by the Mahrattas, which extended along a stretch of elevated ground from the village of Kotla to that of Ghazipur, thus described, and accurately described, with reference to the configuration of the ground at the present day by Major Thorn: the best general view of it is obtained from the summit of a brick-kiln lying north-east of Patparganj. "The enemy," he writes, "were discovered by Lord Lake, drawn up on rising ground in full force and complete order of battle, posted very strongly, having each flank covered by a swamp beyond which were stationed the cavalry, while numerous artillery defended the front, the whole being concealed by a high grass jungle. This front was the only point which could be attacked." The rising ground is situated between two depressions connected at the west end—the right of the enemy's line—where the water is the deepest, the northern depression being, however, much more shallow than the southern one. Water stands in the latter from three to four and a half feet deep from August till October or November.

The following account of the engagement is abstracted mainly from Major Thorn's "Memoir of Great War in India," after careful study of the battle-field, and the necessary additions for elucidation with reference to the ground and its

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surroundings have been made to the map published in the Memoirs.

Lord Lake's force had left Allygurh on 7th September, and arrived at an encampment, two miles south of the battlefield and six miles from Delhi, about 11 A. M., on 11th of that month, having been under arms since 3 A. M. Learning that the enemy had marched out of Delhi, under Mons. Bourquin, and was strongly posted on the left bank of the Jumna, Lord Lake went forward with the cavalry to find them. Their strength was about 19,000 men, including 6,000 cavalry, and seventy guns of every sort and calibre. The British force comprised 4,500 fighting men in all, with but a small body of cavalry, and some galloper guns. The troops engaged were the following :—

H. M. 76th Regiment, posted on the right of the advance ; 1st Battalion 4th Native Infantry ; 1st and 2nd Battalion 15th Native Infantry ; 1st and 2nd Battalion 2nd Native Infantry ; 1st Battalion 14th Native Infantry ; 27th Dragoons ; 2nd and 3rd Native Cavalry Artillery. They were under the command of Major-General St. John and Major-General Ware. To turn either flank of the enemy with so small a force was impossible ; while a front attack on the position defended as it was with artillery, would have entailed tremendous losses. Lord Lake, therefore, decided to make a feigned retreat, while the infantry were being hurried up to the front, and this move was crowned with complete success, though the cavalry sharply pressed for a time, both the Commander-in-Chief and his son (who fell at the head of the regiment in one of the

earliest Peninsular battles) having a horse killed under them; for while the enemy immediately deserted their post advantage and moved forward in pursuit, our infantry was concealed from them by the high river grass, and on our cavalry passing between the regiments to the rear of the line, the Mahrattas suddenly found themselves face to face with it, and subjected to an immediate attack. The troops, with the General himself leading the 76th Regiment, advanced to within 100 yards of the enemy with their muskets to their shoulders, then fired a single volley and charged, and the Mahratta force at once gave way and broke everywhere in wild flight towards Delhi. The cavalry and galloper guns immediately advanced again in pursuit in their turn, and did great execution among the fugitives, and drove in the troops which had been left to guard the passage of the river; while the infantry also swept up to the north along the river bank, then much further to the west than now, and the whole force ultimately encamped opposite Delhi, after a most exhausting day, which lasted nearly up to 7. P.M. Our casualties were 117 killed and 298 wounded; the enemy is believed to have lost 3000 men, and the whole of their guns and tumbrils were captured. The fight was watched from Delhi and buildings opposite the battlefield on the right bank of the river. A full view of the mausoleum of the Emperor Humayun and of the Purana Kila is still obtained from the site of the monument of the battle; but the trees planted along the River Protectorate Works shut off the general view of the Delhi Palace; through the tops of the gates the Jama Masjid

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and the minarets of the Zinar-ul-Masjid Mosque can be seen from it, as also may the needle-like Kutub Minar far down to the south-west.

On the 14th September, the British army crossed the Jumna and entered Delhi, and that date is there doubly marked in British military annals in connection with the once Imperial Moghal City. On the 16th, Lord Lake was escorted to the palace by the heir-apparent, Mirza Akbar, and met the blind king, Shah Alam, in the Diwan-i-Khas. Major Thorn describes him "as an object of pity, blind and aged, stripped of authority, and reduced to poverty, seated under a tattered canopy." Lord Lake received from this lowly representative of the great Moghal the titles of "Samsam-i-Daulah, Ashjah-ul-Mulk Khan Dauran";* and in the following August he was invested with the insignia of the Mahi (Fish) and Muratib (a ball of copper gilt surrounded by a deep fringe) at Cawnpore. The site of the battle on the south side of the depression, in front of the original position of the enemy, is marked by a small obelisk, recently restored. The plain is peaceful enough now, and will probably be found frequented by deer and large wading birds. On the cross are engraved the words of the Governor-General of India, the Marquess of Wellesley, in memory of the officers killed in the engagement :—

The Governor-General in Council sincerely

* Their meaning is Sword of the State, the Hero of the Realm, the Chief of the Age. Twenty-five years later Lord Combermere received the same insignia and the titles of Fustam-i-Jang, Seif-ud-dowlah, the Hero of battle and the Sword of State.

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laments the loss of Major Middleton, 3rd Regiment Native Cavalry; Captain MacGregor, Persian Interpreter; Lieutenant Hill, 2nd Battalion 12th Native Infantry; Lieutenant Preston, 2nd Battalion 13th Native Infantry; Cornet Sanquire, 27th Dragoons; Quarter-Master Richardson, 27th Dragoons, and of the brave soldiers who fell in the exemplary execution of deliberate valour and disciplined spirit at the Battle of Delhi. The names of those brave men will be commemorated with the glorious events of the day on which they fell, and will be honoured and revered while the fame of that signal victory shall endure.

Queen's Gardens.—In Chandni Chauk laid out Princess Jehanara Begam, the loving daughter of Shah Jahan. It should have been even finer than what it is to-day. Here is also the Statue of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, presented to by Mr. James Skinner, a grandson of Col. Skinner, C. B. The Stone Elephant placed here was originally before the Delhi Gate of the Fort. Through the middle of the gardens runs the channel of the tail of the western Jumna Canal, whose water was held up along its course in reservoirs.

Railway Bridge.—See Salimgarh.

Railway Station.—In Queen's Road, about a mile from the Lahore Gate of the Fort. It stands on ground cleared of the old houses that stood on it, in 1860.

Ridge.—About two miles almost due north of Kabul Gate, and about as much slightly north-west of the Kashmir Gate. The northernmost spur of the Aravalli Mountains, which disappears from the surface of India at about this point. It is a

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natural protection to the city, which it has secured from erosion by the river Jumna. Besides its connection with the Mutiny the remains here include the Asoka Lat, broken by an explosion early in the 18th century; and the Observatory, which stands on its highest point. Both of these stand upon the Kush-i Shiker or country palace of Firoz Shah, sometimes also called as Jahannuma or World-displayed. The chronicler of the time says of this :—

In the year 774 H. = 1373 A. D., the Wizir Malik Mukbil, entitled Khan Jahan, died, and his eldest son, Juna Shah, succeeded to his office and titles. During the year 776 H., on the 12th of Safar, the king was plunged into affliction by the death of his favourite son, Fatha Khan, a prince of great promise, and the back of his strength was bent by the burden of grief. Finding no remedy, except in patience and resignation, he buried him in his own garden (now the Kadam Sharif) and performed the customary ceremonies upon the occasion. On account of the excess of his grief, the shadow of his regard was withdrawn from cares of State, and he abandoned himself entirely to his sorrows. His nobles and counsellers placed their heads on the ground, and represented that there was no course left but to submit to the Divine will, and that he should not show further repugnance to administer the affairs of his kingdom. The wise king acceded to the supplications of his friends and well-wishers, and, in order to dispel his sorrows, devoted himself to sport, and in the vicinity of new Delhi, he built a wall of two or three parasangs in circumference, planted within the enclo-

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sure shady trees, and converted it into a hunting park. The ruins of it remain to this day.

Mr. Finch, in the memoirs of his travels as far as Lahore, specially mentions this site in the following terms :—

A little beyond Delhi are the relics of a stately hunting house built by an ancient Indian king, which has great curiosities of stone work about it. Amongst the rest there is a pillar all of one entire stone, some 24 feet high, and as many under ground (as the Indians say) having a globe and half moon at top, and diverse inscriptions upon it. This according to the tradition of the country, a certain Indian king would have taken up and removed, but was prevented in his design by the multitude of scorpions that infested the workmen.

The Charburji (or four bastion) Mosque (because of its four corner domes) apparently stood outside this Palace. As pointed out by Mr. Fanshawe, its modern restoration has entirely destroyed its old architectural aspects.

Roshanara Gardens.—About two miles from the Kabul Gate. Laid out by Roshanara Begam, the daughter of Shah Jahan and an adherent of Aurangazebe, who lies buried in it. The garden is most beautifully laid out and is certainly worth a visit.

Subzi Mandi.—About two miles from the Kabul Gate. Close by here are a couple of beautiful gateways, each of three arches, built in 1728.

Salimgarh Fort.—Lies to the north of Delhi Fort. It was built by Salim Shah, son of Sher

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Shah, in 1546, as a bulwark against the return of Humayun. There is nothing of interest in it except an old mosque beside the northern wall. Here Murad was at first imprisoned by Aurangazeb. Close by is the railway bridge over the Jumna, which is said to stand over the site of an older bridge built by Aurangazeb, connecting it with the Delhi Fort. Mr. Fanshawe thinks that it was more probably built by Farid Khan, who held Salimgarh in Jagir, and was at one time Governor of the Punjab. The railway bridge is at mile 953 and is 2,640 feet in length. It consists of 12 spans of 211½ feet. The substructure is for a double line, but girders for a single line only have been erected. It has the rails above and roadway for cart traffic below. The piers are built on ten wells 10 feet outside diameter, sunk 33 feet below low water level. There is also a row of walls between the piers sunk to the same depth to prevent scour. The height from low water level to underside of girders is 23½ feet. The total cost of this bridge was Rs. 16,60,355 or Rs. 639 per lineal foot. It was opened for traffic on 1st January 1867.

Shalimar Gardens.—These lie to the north-west of the battlefield of Budli-ki-Sarai just across the railway line. The gardens were first laid out in part by Shah Jahan in 1653, and the name *Shalimar* is said to mean *Abode of Joy*. It was here Aurangazeb was crowned. It was destroyed by invading armies and was for a time after 1803 used by the British Resident as a summer retreat.

Souhari Mosque.—Close to Delhi Gate of the Fort. Built of sandstone by one Javed Khan, in

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1751. The inscription on it styles it the Mosque of Bethlehem.

St. James' Church.—About midway between the Fort and the Kashmir Gate. Built by Col. Skinner, C. B., at a cost of Rs. 80,000.

St. James Church is in the form of a Greek Cross, surmounted by a high dome, which indicates the position of the Kashmir Gate in all views of the city from the Ridge and from the north. The graves of Col. Skinner and of the various members of his family lie to the north side of the Church; among these graves is that of Mr. William Fraser, Commissioner of Delhi, murdered in 1835, of whom Victor Jacquemont wrote so enthusiastically. In the south-east corner of the churchyard is the grave of Sir T. T. Metcalfe, the builder of Metcalfe House; and near the south-west corner of the church is the old gilded ball and cross, bearing marks of bullets fired at in 1857. In the front of the church is a memorial cross, and inside it are a number of memorial tablets.

St. Stephen's College.—See chapter IV, page, 34.

Telegraph Office.—About ½ mile west of the Calcutta Gate. Was formerly the Delhi Dak Bungalow, a name by which it is still known to the older inhabitant. In front of it is the Obelisk erected on 19th April 1902 by the officials of the Indian Telegraph Department in memory of the members who fell in the Mutiny.

Front.

Erected on the 19th April 1902, by Members of the Telegraph Department, to commemorate

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the loyal and devoted services of the Delhi Telegraph Office Staff, on the eventful 11th May 1857. On that day two young Signallers,

William Brendish and J. W. Pilkington, remained on duty till ordered to leave, and by telegraping to Amballa information of what was happening at Delhi, rendered invaluable service to the Punjab Government.

In the words of Sir Robert Montgomery.—

"The Electric Telegraph has saved India"

Rear.

The Delhi Telegraphs Office Staff on the 11th May 1857 consisted of the following :—

Charles Todd, Assistant-in-Charge, killed near Cable house, on left bank of river Jumna, on the morning of the above date, while endeavouring to restore telegraphic communication with Meerut.

W. Brendish, Signaller, retired 1st September 1896.

J. W. Pilkington, Signaller, voluntarily returned to Telegraph Office from Staff Tower, and signalled despatch to Commander-in-Chief, containing full report of Mutiny. Taken prisoner after doing so, but escaped. Died, Roorkee, 24th March 1867.

Wazirabad.—At the northern extremity of the Ridge, has the picturesque shrine of the local Saint Shah Alam, built about the middle of the 14th century. It is worthy of a visit.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE DURBAR OF 1877.

Lady Betty Balfour in her history of *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration* has set out in great deal the object and origin of the First Proclamation Durbar held at Delhi in 1877. Her account is an exceedingly interesting one, and as it is our chief authority on the subject, we make no apology for briefly summarising here what she has recorded. Writing of the causes that led to the institution of the Proclamation Durbar in India, she says :—

"When the administration of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Sovereign, it seemed in the eyes of her Indian subjects and feudatories that the impersonal power of an administrative abstraction had been replaced by the direct personal authority of a human being. This was a change thoroughly congenial to all their traditional sentiments, but without some appropriate title the Queen of England was scarcely less of an abstraction than the Company itself. The only Indian word corresponding to the English Queen—namely, *Malika*—was one commonly bestowed on the wife of an Indian Prince and therefore entirely inapplicable to the true position of the British Sovereign in India. The title of Empress or Padshah could alone adequately represent her relations with the states and Kingdoms of India

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and was moreover a title familiar to the natives of the country, and an impressive and significant one in their eyes.

Embarrassments inseparable from the want of some appropriate title had long been experienced with increasing force by successive Indian administrations, and were brought, as it were, to a crisis, by various circumstances incidental to the Prince of Wales's visit to India in 1875—76, and by a recommendation on the part of Lord Northbrook's Government that it would be in accordance with fact, with the language of political documents, and with that in ordinary use, to speak of Her Majesty as the Sovereign of India—that is to say, the paramount power over all, including Native States.

It was accordingly announced in the speech from the throne in the session of 1876, that whereas when the direct government of the Indian Empire was assumed by the Queen no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the Sovereign, Her Majesty deemed that moment a fitting one for supplying the omission, and of giving thereby a formal and emphatic expression of the favourable sentiments which she had always entertained towards the princes and people of India.

By August 1876 the proposed scheme for the proclamation of the new title had been drawn up and had received the cordial support of the Viceroy's Council in India.

The translation of the new title in the vernacular was a matter for careful consideration and consultation. The Government of India

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finally decided to adopt the term Kaisar-i-Hind. It was short, sonorous, expressive of the Imperial character which it was intended to convey, and a title, moreover, of classical antiquity, the term Kaisar-i-Room being that generally applied in Oriental literature to the Roman emperors and still representing the title of Emperor throughout Central Asia.

It was, moreover, decided that the new title should be announced at a great assemblage on the historical plain near Delhi, on January 1, 1877—in the presence of the heads of every government in India; of 1200 of the noble band of civil servants; of 14000 splendidly equipped and disciplined British and native troops; of seventy-seven of the ruling chiefs and princes of India, representing territories as large as Great Britain, France and Germany combined; and of 300 native noblemen and gentlemen besides. Altogether 68,000 were invited and did actually reside in Delhi and in its surrounding camps during the fourteen days of the Assemblage.

Services hitherto inadequately recognised were rewarded: pensions enjoined by ancient native families whose unquestioned loyalty had rendered them deserving of assistance were increased; numerous increased salaries for life were granted to the principal native chiefs; and to each chief entitled to a salute was presented, in the name of the Queen and with all due ceremony, a large silken banner bearing on one side the Royal Arms and on the other his own. The banners were of diverse colours, varying according to the rank of the chief, and were to be carried hence-

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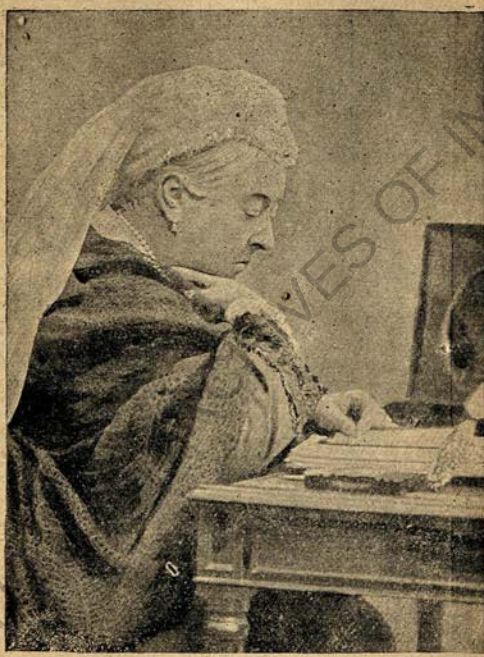

QUEEN VICTORIA.

"May the God of all power grant to us and those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

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forth at all State ceremonials in front of those to whom they were given. Gold and silver medals commemorative of the day were also struck and delivered respectively to each chief and to other selected persons from Her Majesty. Honorary titles were conferred—a reward very dear to the native mind—on more than 200 native noblemen and gentlemen; a large number of certificates of honour were presented to native and other gentlemen throughout India holding such offices as honorary magistrates and members of municipal councils; the pay and allowances to the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the native army in India were increased, and a large number of appointments were made to the Order of British India.

There remained the more difficult task of devising some appropriate recognition on the part of Government of the claims of the British portion of the community, representing the power by which the Empire had been won and maintained in the past, and on which it depended for its consolidation and advancement in the present. The question was long and carefully considered, more especially as Lord Lytton was personally anxious that some such recognition should be made. Insuperable objections, however, were raised to some of the more material suggestions made by the Viceroy and it proved impossible finally to do more than give some appointments to the Order of the Star of India; to create an Order specially open to non-official classes, now known as the 'Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire;' to improve in some degree the position

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of British officers serving in native regiments; and to give a day's pay to the seamen and soldiers serving the Queen-Empress within Indian limits on the day of the Proclamation.

Three large pavilions had been specially erected for the occasion, at some distance outside and overlooking an extensive plain to the north of the city of Delhi. The largest of these pavilions, which was semi-circular in form, about 800 feet long, facing the Viceregal throne, was occupied by the Governors of Madras and Bombay, the ruling chiefs present at Delhi with their principal attendants, and the various high officers of Government, all of whom were seated in such a manner that the native chiefs were intermingled with the high officials. The two other pavilions erected to the rear, right and left, of the Viceroy's throne were occupied by a large concourse of spectators, including the Governor-General of the Portuguese settlements in India, the Khan of Khelat, the Foreign Envoys and Consuls, and European and Native noblemen and gentlemen from all parts of India. The British troops, European and Native, were drawn up in a vast circle in the plain around.

The Viceroy arrived at the place of assemblage a little after noon, and was received with a royal salute from the troops assembled. On arriving at the grand entrance the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Lytton and the members of his personal Staff, alighted from his carriage and, preceded by his Staff, advanced in procession to the daïs.

His Excellency, wearing the collar, badge, and robes of the Star of India, was received by the

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whole assembly standing, the massed bands drawn up close by playing the National Anthem until he had taken his seat on the daïs. The Proclamation formally declaring Her Majesty the Queen to be Empress of India was then read in English by the chief Herald and afterwards in Urdu by the Foreign Secretary. At its conclusion 101 salvos of artillery, intermingled with *feux de joie* from the assembled troops, were fired; the Royal Standard was hoisted, and the bands again played the National Anthem. After a brief pause the Viceroy rose and delivered the following speech:—

LORD LYTTON'S DURBAR SPEECH.

On the first day of November, in the year 1858, a Proclamation was issued by the Queen of England, conveying to the Princes and People of India those assurances of Her Majesty's good will which, from that day to this, they have cherished as their most precious political possession. The promises then made by a Sovereign, whose word has never been broken, need no confirmation from my lips. Eighteen years of progressive prosperity confirm them; and this great assemblage is the conspicuous evidence of their fulfilment. Undisturbed in the enjoyment of their hereditary honours, protected in the prosecution of their lawful interests, both the Princes and the People of this Empire have found a full security for the future in the generosity and justice of the past. We are now assembled to proclaim the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress of India; and it is my duty, as Her Representative in this

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Country, to explain the gracious intentions of Her Majesty, in adding that title to the style and dignity of Her ancestral Crown. Of all Her Majesty's possessions throughout the world,—possessions comprising a seventh part of the earth's surface, and three hundred millions of its inhabitants,—there is not one that She regards with deeper interest than this great and ancient Empire. At all times, and in all places, the British Crown has had able and zealous servants, but none more illustrious than those whose wisdom and heroism have won and kept for it the dominion of India. This achievement, in which all Her Majesty's subjects, European and Native, have worthily co-operated, has also been aided by the loyalty of Her Majesty's great allies and feudatories; whose soldiers have shared with Her Armies the toils and victories of war; whose sagacious fidelity has assisted Her Government in preserving and diffusing the blessings of peace; and whose presence here to-day at the solemn inauguration of Her Imperial title, attests their confidence in the beneficence of Her power and their interest in the unity of Her Empire. This Empire, acquired by Her ancestors and consolidated by Herself. The Queen regards as a glorious inheritance to be maintained and transmitted intact to Her descendants, and She recognises in the possession of it the most solemn obligations to use Her great power for the welfare of all its people, with scrupulous regard for the rights of Her feudatory Princes. For this reason, it is Her Majesty's Royal pleasure to add to the titles of Her Crown one which shall be henceforth

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to all the Princes and Peoples of India, the permanent symbol of its union with their interests and its claim upon their loyal allegiance. The successive dynasties whose rule in India the power of the British Crown has been called by Providence to replace and improve, were not unproductive of good and great Sovereigns; but the policy of their successors failed to secure the internal peace of their dominions. Strife became chronic and anarchy constantly recurrent. The weak were the prey of the strong, and the strong the victims of their own passions. Thus, sapped by incessant bloodshed and shaken by intestine broils, the great House of Tamerlane crumbled to decay; and it fell at last because it had ceased to be conducive to the progress of the East. Now, under laws which impartially protect all races and all creeds, every subject of Her Majesty may peacefully enjoy his own. The toleration of the Government permits each member of the community to follow without molestation the rules and rites of his religion. The strong hand of Imperial power is put forth not to crush, but to protect and guide; and the results of British Rule are everywhere around us in the rapid advance of the whole country and the increasing prosperity of all its Provinces.

British Administrators and faithful Officers of the Crown,—It is to your continued labours that these beneficent results are chiefly due: and it is to you, in the first instance, that I have now, in the name of Her Majesty, to express the gratitude and confidence of your Sovereign. Not less steadfastly than all your honoured predecessors,

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you have toiled for the good of this Great Empire with a perserving energy, public virtue, and self-devotion, unsurpassed in history. The doors of fame are not open to all; but the opportunity of doing good is denied to none who seek it. Rapid promotion it is not often in the power of any Government to provide for its servants. But I feel assured that, in the service of the British Crown, public duty and personal devotion will ever have higher incentives than the expectation of public honours or personal emoluments. Much of the most important and valuable work of Indian administration has always been, and always must be done, not by persons in prominent positions, but by those district officers on whose patient intelligence and courage the efficient operation of its whole system is essentially dependent. I cannot give expression too emphatic to Her Majesty's grateful recognition of the admirable manner in which Her servants, both Civil and Military, have performed, and are performing, throughout India tasks as delicate and difficult as any which the Crown can confide to its most trusted subjects. Members of the Civil and Military Services, placed at an early age in positions of immense responsibility, submitting with cheerful devotion to a severely exacting discipline, personally exercising the most important administrative functions among populations whose language, creed, and customs, differ from your own,—may you ever be sustained in the firm yet gentle discharge of your arduous duties by the consciousness that, whilst you thus uphold the high character of your race, and carry out the

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benign precepts of your religion, you are also conferring on all other creeds and races in this country the inestimable benefits of good Government. But it is not only to the official servants of the Crown that India is indebted for the wise application of the principles of Western civilization to the steady development of her vast resources; and I should ill represent the feelings of my august Mistress if, on this occasion, I failed to assure Her non-official European subjects in India of the cordial satisfaction with which Her Majesty recognizes and appreciates, not only their loyalty to Her Throne and Person, but also the benefits which Her Indian Empire derives from their industry, their social energy, and civic virtue. Wishing to increase Her opportunities of distinguishing the public services, or private worth, of Her subjects throughout this important portion of Her Dominions, Her Majesty has been pleased, not only to sanction a certain enlargement of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and of the Order of British India, but also to institute for this purpose an entirely new Order which will be called the Order of the Indian Empire.

OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF INDIA, BRITISH AND NATIVE.—The Queen recalls with pride your heroic achievements on every occasion, when, fighting side by side, you have upheld the honour of Her Arms. Confident that all future occasions will find you no less efficiently united in the faithful performance of that high duty, it is to you that Her Majesty entrusts the great charge of maintaining the peace, and protecting the prosperity, of Her Indian Dominions.

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VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS.—Your loyal and successful endeavours to render yourselves capable of acting, if necessary, with the Regular Forces, claim cordial recognition on this occasion.

PRINCES AND CHIEFS OF THE EMPIRE,—Which finds in your loyalty a pledge of strength, in your prosperity a source of splendour, Her Majesty thanks you for your readiness, on which She reckons, if its interests be attacked or menaced, to assist Her Government in the defence of them. In the Queen's name I cordially welcome you to Delhi; recognizing in your presence, on this great occasion, conspicuous evidence of those sentiments of attachment to the Crown of England which received from you such emphatic expression during the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to this country. Her Majesty regards Her interests as identified with yours; and it is with the wish to confirm the confidence and perpetuate the intimacy of the relations now so happily uniting the British Crown and its feudatories and allies, that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to assume the Imperial Title we proclaim to-day.

NATIVE SUBJECTS OF THE EMPRESS OF INDIA,—The present conditions and permanent interests of this Empire demand the supreme supervision and direction of their administration by English officers trained in the principles of that polity whose assertion is necessary to preserve the continuity of imperial rule. It is to the wise initiative of these statesmen that India chiefly owes that steady progress in civilization which is a condition of her political importance, and the secret of her growing strength, and it is they who

must long continue to form the most important practical channel through which the arts, the sciences, and the culture of the West (which have given to Europe its present pre-eminence in peace and war), may freely flow towards the East for the common benefit of all its children. But you, the natives of India, whatever your race, and whatever your creed, have a recognized claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by the greatest British and Indian statesmen, and by the Legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognized by the Government of India, as binding on its honour, and consonant with all the aims of its policy. The Government of India, therefore, notices with satisfaction the marked improvement during recent years in the character of the Native Public Service, especially in its higher grades. The administration of this great Empire demands, from many of those to whom a share in it is entrusted attributes not exclusively intellectual, qualifications to which moral and social superiority are essential. More especially, therefore, does it rest with those who, by birth, rank and hereditary influence, are your natural leaders, to fit themselves and their children for the honourable duty which is open to them by accepting the only education that can enable them to comprehend and practise the principle steadily maintained by the Government of the Queen, their Empress. You must all adopt as your own that highest

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standard of public virtue which comprises loyalty, incorruptibility, impartiality, truth and courage. The Government of Her Majesty will then cordially welcome your co-operation in the work of administration. For, in every quarter of the globe over which its dominion is established, that Government trusts less to the strength of armies than to the willing allegiance of a contented and united people, who rally round the throne because, they recognise therein the stable condition of their permanent welfare. It is on the gradual and enlightened participation of Her Indian subjects in the undisturbed exercise of this mild and just authority, and not upon the conquest of weaker States, or the annexation of neighbouring Territories, that Her Majesty relies for the development of her Indian Empire. Her interests and duties, however, are not confined to Her own dominions. She sincerely desires to maintain the most frank and friendly relations with the rulers of those territories which adjoining the frontiers of this Empire have so long owed their independence to their sheltering shadow of its power. But should the repose of that power be at any time threatened from without the Empress of India will know how to defend Her great inheritance. No foreign enemy can now attack the British Empire in India without thereby assailing the whole civilization of the East; and the unlimited resources of Her dominions, the courageous fidelity of Her allies and feudatories, and the loyal affection of Her subjects, have provided Her Majesty with ample power to repel and punish every assailant. The

presence, on this occasion, of the Representatives of Sovereigns who, from the remotest parts of the East, have addressed to the Queen their congratulations on the event we celebrate to-day, significantly attest the pacific policy of the Government of India, and the cordiality of its relations with all neighbouring States. To His Highness the Khan of Khelat, and to those Ambassadors who have travelled so far to represent on British Territory the Asiatic Allies of the Empress of India, as also to our honoured guest His Excellency the Governor-General of Goa, and to the Foreign Consular Body, I desire to offer on behalf of Her Majesty's Indian Government, welcome to this Imperial Assemblage.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MESSAGE.

PRINCES AND PEOPLE OF INDIA,—It is now my pleasing duty to communicate to you the gracious message which the Queen, your Empress, has today addressed to you in Her own Royal and Imperial name. These are the words of the telegraphic message which I have this morning received from Her Majesty:

"WE, VICTORIA BY THE GRACE OF GOD, of the United Kingdom, Queen, Empress of India, send through our Viceroy to all our officers, Civil and Military, and to all Princes, Chiefs and Peoples now at Delhi assembled, our Royal and Imperial Greeting, and assure them of the deep interest and earnest affection with which we regard the people of our Indian Empire. We have witnessed with heartfelt satisfaction the reception which they have accorded to our beloved Son, and have

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been touched by the evidence of their loyalty and attachment to Our House and Throne. We trust that the present occasion may tend to unite in bonds of yet closer affection ourselves and our subjects; that from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under our rule the great principles of liberty, equity and justice are secured to them; and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity and advance their welfare, are the ever-present aims and objects of Our Empire."

You will, I am confident, appreciate these gracious words.

God save Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom and Empress of India.

At the conclusion of this address the whole assembly spontaneously rose and joined the troops in giving repeated cheers. Many of the chiefs present attempted to offer their congratulations, but were unable to make themselves heard. The Maharaja Scindhia was the first to rise. He said: 'Shah-in-Shah Padshah (Monarch of Monarchs,) may God bless you! The Princes of India bless you and pray that your sovereignty and power may remain steadfast for ever.'

EFFECT OF PROCLAMATION.

In the opinion of the best judges in India, after some years' experience, the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress has had political results of far-reaching importance. The supremacy of the British Government had of course been long admitted as a practical fact by all the Native States of India, but in many cases their

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chiefs gave themselves, when opportunity offered and it seemed safe to do so, the airs of independent powers. Treaties, made perhaps nearly a hundred years before and still in force, might be quoted to show that the native prince, although not so strong, was equal in dignity and rightful position to the Viceroy. The Nizam, the Gaekwar, and the Viceroy had all the same salutes, than which to native imaginations there could be nothing more significant. The twenty-one guns ceased after the Delhi Assembly to be a sign of equality with the representative of the Sovereign. There can indeed be no doubt of the fact, now universally acknowledged in India, that the proclamation of the paramount superiority of the British Crown was an act of political wisdom and foresight which has not only strengthened our position throughout the vast territories of India proper, but has had no small effect also beyond the frontier of the Indian Empire.

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CHAPTER X.

THE DURBAR OF 1903.

The circumstances that led to the holding of the Durbar of 1903, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon may be gathered from the following Proclamation by His Majesty King Edward.

EDWARD, R. I.

Whereas, upon the death of our late Sovereign of happy memory, Queen Victoria, upon the 22nd day of January in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and one, we did ascend the throne under the style and title of Edward VII., by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India;

And whereas, by Our Royal Proclamations bearing date the twenty-sixth day of June and the tenth day of December in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and one, in the First year of Our Reign, We did publish and declare Our Royal intention, by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, to celebrate the Solemnity of Our Royal Coronation upon the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and two;

And whereas, by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, We were enabled to celebrate the said Solemnity upon Saturday, the ninth of August last;

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And whereas, it is Our wish and desire that the fact of the celebration of the said Solemnity should be publicly announced to all Our loving Subjects within Our Indian Dominions, an opportunity should be given to Our Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Heads of Administrations, to the Chief Princes, Chiefs, and Nobles of the Native States under Our Protection, and to the Representatives of all the Provinces of Our Indian Empire, to take part in the said ceremonial;

Now We do, by this Our Royal Proclamation, make announcement thereof, and We do hereby charge and command Our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, George Nathaniel, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Our Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to hold at Delhi on the 1st of January, one thousand nine hundred and three, an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of declaring the completion of the said Solemnity of our Coronation; and We direct that at the said Durbar this Proclamation shall be read for the information of all whom it may concern.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the first day of October, one thousand nine hundred and two, in the second year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING-EMPEROR.

The Durbar was a magnificent affair though the propriety of holding it on the scale on which it was planned by Lord Curzon and carried out was questioned in many quarters. Quite apart from that, the Durbar was a great success, both

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as an impressive ceremony and as a gigantic spectacular sight. The elephant procession was its greatest feature, the great Imperial city being entered by Lord Curzon and the Royal Princes of India on State elephants. "It was a barbaric display, if you will, but it epitomised the wealth and magnificence of the immemorial East." There were only 200 elephants in the procession including those ridden by the retainers of the Princes. On the reading of the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of King Edward VII. by the Herald Major Maxwell, the guns without fired a salute of 101 guns and the 40,000 troops encircling the Durbar fired a "feu de joie".

THE VICEROY'S DURBAR SPEECH.

Then the Viceroy made his speech and in doing so said:—Five months ago in London His Majesty King Edward VII., King of England and Emperor of India was invested with the crown and sceptre of the English Kings. Only a few representatives of the Indian Empire had the good fortune to be present at that ceremony. To-day His Majesty has by his royal favour afforded an opportunity to all his Indian people to take part in similar rejoicings, and here, and elsewhere throughout India, are gathered together in honour of the event the Princes and Chiefs and Nobles, who are the pillars of his throne, the European and Indian officials who conduct his administration with an integrity and devotion to duty beyond compare, the Army, British and Native, which with such pre-eminent

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KING EDWARD VII.

I need hardly say that my constant endeavour will be always to walk in her footsteps."

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bravery defends his frontiers and fights his wars, and the vast body of the loyal inhabitants of India of all races who, amid a thousand varieties of circumstance and feeling and custom, are united in their spontaneous allegiance to the Imperial Crown. It was with the special object of thus solemnising his Coronation in India that His Majesty commanded me, as his Viceroy, to convene this great Durbar, and it is to signify the supreme value that he attaches to the occasion that he has honoured us by deputing his own brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, to join in this celebration.

It is 26 years since, on the anniversary of this day, in this city of Imperial memories and traditions, and on this very spot, Queen Victoria was proclaimed the First Empress of India. That act was a vindication of her profound interest in her Indian subjects, and of the accomplished unity of her Indian dominions under the paramountcy of the British Crown. To-day, a quarter of a century later, that Empire is not less but more united. The Sovereign to whom we are met to render homage is not less dear to his Indian people, for they have seen his features, and heard his voice. He has succeeded to a throne not only the most illustrious, but the most stable in the world; and ill-informed would be the critic who would deny that not the least of the bases of its security—nay, I think, a principal condition of its strength—is the possession of the Indian Empire, and the faithful attachment and service of His Majesty's Indian people. Rich in her

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ancient traditions, India is also rich in the loyalty which has been kindled anew in her by the West. Amid the crowd of noble suitors who, through all the centuries, have sought her hand, she has given it only to the one who has also gained her trust.

Nowhere else in the world would such a spectacle be possible as that which we witness here to-day. I do not speak of this great and imposing Assemblage, unparalleled as I believe it to be. I refer to that which this gathering symbolises, and those to whose feelings it gives expression. Over 100 rulers of separate States, whose united population amounts to 60 millions of people, and whose territories extend over 55 degrees of longitude, have come here to testify their allegiance to their common Sovereign. We greatly esteem the sentiments of loyalty that have brought them to Delhi from such great distances, and often at considerable sacrifice; and I shall presently be honoured by receiving from their own lips their message of personal congratulation to the King. The officers and soldiers present are drawn from a force in India of nearly 230,000 men, whose pride it is that they are the King's Army. The leaders of Indian society, official and unofficial, who are here, are the mouthpieces of a community of over 230 millions of souls. In spirit, therefore, and one may almost say, through their rulers and deputies, in person, there is represented in this arena nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. All are animated by a single feeling, and all bow before a single throne.

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And should it be asked how it is that any one sentiment can draw together these vast and scattered forces and make them one, the answer is that loyalty to the Sovereign is synonymous with confidence in the equity and benignity of his rule. It is not merely the expression of an emotion, but the record of an experience and the declaration of a belief. For to the majority of these millions the King's Government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy; to others it has guaranteed their rights and privileges; to others it opens ever widening avenues of honourable employment; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of suffering; and to all it endeavours to give equal justice, immunity from oppression, and the blessings of enlightenment and peace. To have won such a dominion is a great achievement. To hold it by fair and righteous dealing is a greater. To weld it by prudent statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be and is the greatest of all.

Such are the ideas and aims that are embodied in the summoning of this Coronation Durbar. It is now my duty to read to you the gracious Message which His Majesty has desired me to convey to his Indian people:—

"It gives me much pleasure to send a Message of greeting to my Indian people, on the solemn occasion when they are celebrating my Coronation. Only a small number of the Indian Princes and representatives were able to be present at the Ceremony which took place in London; and I accordingly instructed my Viceroy and Governor-

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General to hold a great Durbar at Delhi, in order to afford an opportunity to all the Indian Princes, Chiefs, and Peoples, and to the Officials of my Government, to commemorate this auspicious event. Ever since my visit to India in 1875, I have regarded that Country and its Peoples with deep affection : and I am conscious of their earnest and loyal devotion to my House and Throne. During recent years many evidences of their attachment have reached me : and my Indian Troops have rendered conspicuous services in the Wars and Victories of my Empire.

"I confidently hope that my beloved Son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, may before long be able to make themselves personally acquainted with India, a country which I have always desired that they should see, and which they are equally anxious to visit. Gladly would I have come to India upon this eventful occasion myself had this been found possible. I have, however, sent my dear Brother, the Duke of Connaught, who is already so well known in India, in order that my Family may be represented at the Ceremony held to celebrate my Coronation.

"My desire, since I succeeded to the Throne of my revered Mother, the late Queen Victoria, the First Empress of India, has been to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable Administration which secured for her in so wonderful a degree the veneration and affection of her Indian Subjects. To all my Feudatories and Subjects throughout India, I renew the assur-

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ance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire, and the greater happiness of its People."

Princes and Peoples of India, these are the words of the Sovereign whose Coronation we are assembled to celebrate. They provide a stimulus and an inspiration to the officers who serve him, and they breathe the lessons of magnanimity and goodwill to all. To those of us who, like my colleagues and myself, are the direct instruments of His Majesty's Government, they suggest the spirit that should guide our conduct and infuse our Administration. Never was there a time when we were more desirous that that Administration should be characterised by generosity and leniency. Those who have suffered much deserve much; and those who have wrought well deserve well. The Princes of India have offered us their soldiers and their own swords in the recent campaigns of the Empire; and in other struggles, such as those against drought and famine, they have conducted themselves with equal gallantry and credit. It is difficult to give to them more than they already enjoy, and impossible to add to a security whose inviolability is beyond dispute. Nevertheless, it has been a pleasure to us to propose that Government shall cease to exact any interest for a period of three years upon all loans

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that have been made or guaranteed by the Government of India to Native States in connection with the last famine; and we hope that this benefaction may be acceptable to those to whom it is offered. Other and more numerous classes there are in this great country to whom we would gladly extend, and to whom we hope before long to be in a position to announce, relief. In the midst of a financial year it is not always expedient to make announcements, or easy to frame calculations. If, however, the present conditions continue, and if, as we have good reason to believe, we have entered upon a period of prosperity in Indian finance, then I trust that these early years of His Majesty's reign may not pass by without the Government of India being able to demonstrate their feelings of sympathy and regard for the Indian population by measures of financial relief, which their patient and loyal conduct in years of depression and distress renders it especially gratifying to me to contemplate. I need not now refer to other acts of consideration or favour which we have associated with the present occasion, since they are recorded elsewhere. But it is my privilege to make the announcement to the officers of the Army that henceforward the name of the Indian Staff Corps will cease to exist, and that they will belong to the single and homogenous Indian Army of the King.

Princes and Peoples, if we turn our gaze for a moment to the future, a great development appears with little doubt to lie before this country.

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There is no Indian problem, be it of population or education or labour or subsistence, which it is not in the power of statesmanship to solve. The solution of many is even now proceeding before our eyes. If the combined arms of Great Britain and India can secure continued peace upon our borders, if unity prevails within them, between princes and people, between European and Indian, and between rulers and ruled, and if the seasons fail not in their bounty, then nothing can arrest the march of progress. The India of the future will, under Providence, not be an India of diminishing plenty, of empty prospect, or of justifiable discontent; but one of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely-distributed comfort and wealth. I have faith in the conscience and the purpose of my own country; and I believe in the almost illimitable capacities of this. But under no other conditions can this future be realised than the unchallenged supremacy of the paramount power, and under no other controlling authority is this capable of being maintained, than that of the British Crown.

And now I will bring these remarks to a close. It is my earnest hope that this great assemblage may long be remembered by the peoples of India as having brought them into contact at a moment of great solemnity with the personality and the sentiments of their Sovereign. I hope that its memories will be those of happiness and rejoicing, and that the reign of King Edward VII, so auspiciously begun, will live in the annals of India

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and in the hearts of its people. We pray that, under the blessing of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, his sovereignty and power may last for long years, that the well-being of his subjects may grow from day to day, that the administration of his officers may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, and that the security and beneficence of his dominion may endure for ever. Long live the King-Emperor of India!

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CHAPTER XI.

THE DURBAR OF 1911.

A ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

A Gazette Extraordinary published on the 22nd March contained the following Royal Proclamation by the King-Emperor for appointing a day for the celebration in His Majesty's Indian dominions of the solemnity of the Coronation of His Majesty :—

"Whereas upon the death of our late Sovereign of happy memory King Edward, upon the sixth day of May in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten, We did ascend the Throne under the style and title of George the Fifth by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India; and whereas by Our Royal Proclamations bearing date the nineteenth day of July and the seventh day of November in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten in the first year of Our Reign, We did publish and declare Our Royal intention by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God to celebrate the solemnity of Our Royal Coronation upon the twenty-second day of June one thousand nine hundred and eleven; and whereas it is Our wish and desire to make known to all Our loving subjects within Our Indian dominions that the said solemnity has

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so been celebrated and to call to Our presence Our Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and others of Our officers, the Princes, Chiefs and Nobles of the Native States under Our protection and representatives of all the Provinces of Our Indian Empire, now We do by this Royal Proclamation declare Our Royal intention to hold at Delhi on the twelfth day of December one thousand and nine hundred and eleven an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of making known the said solemnity of Our Coronation and we do hereby charge and command Our right trusted and well beloved counsellor Charles Baron Hardinge of Penshurst, Our Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to take all necessary measures in that behalf.

Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace this twenty-second day of March in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven and in the first year of Our Reign."

ORDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The following resolution dated Simla, 11th August, has been issued :—In a Royal proclamation dated the 22nd day of March, 1911, His Majesty the King-Emperor declared his Royal intention to hold at Delhi on the twelfth day of December one thousand nine hundred and eleven, an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of making known the solemnity of his Coronation. The Governor-General in Council is now pleased to issue the following orders for local celebrations of this unique, most solemn and auspicious event throughout the rest of His Majesty's Indian do-

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minions, except the cities of Bombay and Calcutta, on the abovementioned date. In accordance with the dictates of fitness and the wishes of the Governments of Bombay and Bengal, the celebrations at Bombay and Calcutta will be timed to coincide with the presence in those cities of Their Majesties.

The Governor-General in Council directs that Thursday the 7th December, 1911, the date appointed for the State entry of Their Majesties into Delhi and Tuesday the 12th December 1911, the date appointed for the Imperial Durbar shall be notified as public holidays throughout India under the Negotiable Instruments Act. In view of the fact that the Christmas holiday from December the 23rd to the 1st January will follow so closely upon the celebrations at Delhi and that Their Majesties' presence in Bombay and Calcutta will be celebrated by other public holidays in those cities and throughout the Bombay Presidency and the Province of Bengal, the Governor-General in Council considers that the notification throughout India of any other days than the two specified as holidays under the act would result in serious dislocation of public business and inconvenience to the mercantile community and to the large number of visitors to India who may be expected on the occasion. His Excellency is, however, pleased to direct that subject to the condition that arrangements are made for the despatch of urgent business all public offices under the Government of India except those which must remain open for the proper transac-

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tion of commercial business, shall be closed on the dates intervening between the State entry of Their Majesties into Delhi and the celebration of the Imperial Durbar, namely the 8th to the 11th December inclusive, and desires local Governments and Administrations to issue similar orders with regard to the offices under their control.

It is the wish of the Governor-General in Council that the local celebrations of the most auspicious occasion of Their Majesties' visit to India should in the matter of the enjoyment of the holidays directed above be concentrated upon the solemn date of the Imperial Durbar, the 12th December, and that some formal celebration of this unique occasion should as far as practicable be held in every village of the Indian Empire. With this object it is directed that the Royal Proclamation, which will be read at the Imperial Durbar at Delhi and which will be communicated to local Governments and Administrations in due season shall be publicly read out not only at the headquarters of each local Government and Administration and at each district headquarters, but at the headquarters of each sub-division, tahsil and taluq and as far as practicable at every village throughout India. The Proclamation shall be read in English and the Vernacular by the Senior Civil Officer present at midday on the 12th December 1911, at the headquarters of each local Government and Administration and of each district and sub-division and in the Vernacular at the headquarters of each taluq and tahsil by the officer in the administrative charge thereof. In

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villages it shall be read in the Vernacular by the patwari or the head-man of the village to be selected in this behalf by the local authorities. The Governor-General in Council desires in this connection to commend to the consideration of local Governments, a suggestion which has been made to him, that a portrait of His Majesty should be supplied to the reader of the Proclamation in each village, who should be directed to exhibit it to the people assembled at the time.

At the headquarters of local Governments and of districts and wherever else this can conveniently and suitably be arranged (possibly for instance at the headquarters of sub-divisions and in some cases of Tahsils and Taluqs), the reading of the Proclamation takes place in a formal Durbar to be convened and arranged by the officer reading the Proclamation and at this Durbar, any honours that may have been conferred on residents of the locality by His Majesty the King-Emperor or His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General should be announced. The Governor-General in Council desires that the occasion should further be remarked by the distribution at such Durbars of certificates of honour to be granted by local Governments and Administrations in the form annexed to this resolution to Indian gentlemen of distinction. These certificates should as on the three previous occasions when they have been granted be distributed with discriminations and be reserved for those who have actually rendered services meriting recognition by Government and capable of being distinctly specified in the body

of the certificates at the time of the reading of the Proclamation.

A Royal salute of 101 guns should be fired wherever this is practicable.

The Governor-General in Council directs that on the evening of the 12th December the districts and Court houses, telegraph offices and post offices and so far as this is practicable all Government buildings throughout India shall be illuminated and invites all local bodies to arrange for the illumination of their public buildings. At the same time His Excellency is confident that private persons will readily co-operate in this respect and will use every endeavour to illuminate their dwelling houses and business premises in a manner fitted to mark the great occasion.

It has already been stated that it is the desire of the Governor-General in Council and he does not doubt that his wish will be shared by all classes of His Majesty's subjects in India that celebrations on the occasion of Their Majesties' presence at the Imperial Durbar at Delhi should as far as practicable be held in every village in the Indian Empire. Besides the reading of the Proclamation and the exhibition of His Majesty's portrait referred to above, which may be regarded as of the nature of ceremonial, the Governor-General in Council trusts the feeding of the poor, athletic sports, the display of fire-works, and other like events, which formed so marked and well-appreciated a feature of the local celebrations in honour of the Durbar at Delhi on the 1st January, 1903, will take place

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on the present occasion on a still greater and more widespread scale. As on the occasion of the last Durbar, the Governor-General in Council will appeal mainly to the local feeling, liberality, kind-heartedness and energy of local bodies and of the public assisted by private individuals to carry out his wishes in these respects and he is confident that his hopes will not be disappointed and that the celebrations will be of such a nature as to bring home as far as possible to every subject of His Majesty, young and old, rich and poor, throughout the country the great event of the first personal visit of a King-Emperor and of his Consort to his Indian Empire in order to announce to his Indian subjects the solemnity of his Coronation. To this end, it is particularly desirable that entertainments for school children should be given an important place in the local celebrations, but with regard to this matter the wishes of the Governor-General in Council have been separately made known.

The form of certificate mentioned above to be presented to Indian gentlemen by local Governments is as follows :—

By command of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, this certificate is presented in the name of His Most Gracious Majesty King George V, Emperor of India, on the occasion of His Majesty's Coronation Durbar at Delhi to (here enter name, father's name and description) in recognition of (here enter nature of his services or grounds upon which the certificate is given).

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THE PROGRAMME.

SIMLA, *Aug.* 24.

The Coronation Durbar Office has issued the following:—

The commands of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, having now been received with regard to the principal arrangements connected with the Coronation Durbar, it is possible to give an outline of the programme of the Royal visit to Delhi. The visit of Their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress to Delhi, will extend from the 7th to 16th of December, the Governor-General arriving two days before them, and leaving also on the 16th. The Royal train will arrive from Bombay, at the Railway Station, in the Selimgarh bastion of the Fort at Delhi on the morning of the 7th December. Their Imperial Majesties will be received on the platform by Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge, the Governors and heads of Provinces, the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the high Officers (Military and Civil) of the Government. After the high Officials have been presented by His Excellency the Governor-General, Their Imperial Majesties will proceed to a pavilion within the Fort wall, where the ruling Chiefs will have the honour of being presented to them. Their Imperial Majesties will, after this, move in a procession from the Fort through the principal streets of the city to the Ridge, where they will be

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KING GEORGE.

'The task of governing India will be made easier, if we on our part, infuse into it a wider element of sympathy."

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greeted before proceeding to their camp by the representatives of British India in a special pavilion, a short address being presented by the Vice-President of the Governor-General's Legislative Council. The procession from the Fort will be formed in three portions—first, the procession of the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, second, the Royal procession, third, the procession of the ruling Chiefs. The first portion of the procession will move to the pavilion on the Ridge, while the ruling chiefs being presented to Their Imperial Majesties in order that the heads of the Provinces may join the groups of Provincial representatives before the procession arrives there. Special arrangements have been made for purdah ladies of high rank to see this procession and also for school children to whom a place on the route has been allotted. A number of stands for the spectators will be erected along the route by the Delhi Municipality, from whom places will be procurable. Seats will be reserved in the pavilion on the Ridge for official guests and the families of officers (military and civil) on duty. The King-Emperor will receive visits from the principal ruling Chiefs on the 7th and on the morning of the 8th and 9th December. On the afternoon of the 8th, His Imperial Majesty will lay the memorial stone of the All-India King Edward Memorial, on the open space between the Fort and the city of Delhi. This will be made the occasion of a State ceremony, to which subscribers to the Memorial will be invited.

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Sunday, the 10th December, will be a free day, and Their Imperial Majesties will attend Divine Service. On the morning of Monday, the 11th, the King-Emperor will present Colours to five regiments (three British and two Indian), on the polo ground. On the afternoon of the same day the final of the Polo Tournament will be played, and it is hoped that Their Imperial Majesties will honour the occasion by their presence. The Durbar, as already announced by Proclamation, will take place on Tuesday, the 12th December. It will be held in an arena composed of two amphitheatres on the same site as that of Lord Lytton's assemblage in 1877, and Lord Curzon's Durbar of 1903. The smaller of these amphitheatres is for the Governors, the Commanders-in-Chief, the Lieutenant-Governors and other high officials, the ruling Chiefs, the Durbar representatives from British India and Native States, the guests in Government camps and privileged spectators. The large one is intended for the general public, and will accommodate over 50,000 persons. On it 5,000 places will be reserved for school children and 11,000 for spectators with tickets. The remaining portions of it will be open to the public. The arena will be occupied by troops. The total number who will be able to view the Durbar will be about 100,000. After receiving the homage of the Governors, Chiefs and representatives of British India at the Royal *shamiana*, within the inner amphitheatre, Their Imperial Majesties will appear at the Royal pavilion in the centre of the arena, where the Royal Proclamation will be read before the whole assemblage.

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The final of the Hockey Tournament for the Indian Army will be played in the afternoon. A State banquet will be held in the King-Emperor's Camp, on the evening of the Durbar day and it will be followed by a reception in the Royal tents. On the 13th of December His Imperial Majesty will hold a reception of Volunteer Officers and Native Officers of the Indian Army, and in the afternoon a garden party, for which commands will be issued, will be held in the Fort. At the same time a great Fair for the people will be held below the Fort walls, on which Their Imperial Majesties will appear and show themselves according to the ancient custom to their subjects below. It is hoped that the number present will be very large. The arrangements for the Fair are being made by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Special arrangements will be made at the garden party for purdah ladies of high rank and one of the attractions there, will be a historical exhibition in the *Mumtaz Mahal*, arranged for by the Archæological Department. The garden party will be followed by an illumination of the Fort and a pyrotechnic display on the *Bela*. Special arrangements will be made for the feeding of the poor, towards the cost of which His Majesty the King-Emperor has given a large sum of money.

On Thursday the 14th, a grand review of the troops assembled at Delhi, including the Imperial Service Troops, will be held. The final of the Football Tournment for the British Army will be played in the afternoon. In the evening the

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King-Emperor will hold an investiture in the pavilion in the Royal camp.

On Friday, the 15th, the Military Tournment and point-to-point races, which are being arranged for by an influential committee of military officers, will be held in the afternoon.

On Saturday, the 16th December, the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress will leave Delhi by the Selimgarh Railway Station. Their Imperial Majesties will proceed in State procession through the city, to the Fort, the King-Emperor going to Nepal and the Queen-Empress to Agra. Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge will leave for Dehra Dun immediately after Their Majesties' departure.

The heads of all local governments and administrations have been invited to attend, arriving by the 4th of December, and bringing with them a selected number of European and Indian representatives from their provinces. About 150 ruling Chiefs have also been invited to attend with their principal sardars and officers. They will arrive by the 2nd of December.

The Governors of the Asiatic colonies of the Crown, as well as the Foreign Consuls in India, have also been invited, and about 100 representatives of the principal journals will be the guests of the Government of India. A camp has also been provided for some hundreds of veterans possessing certain war medals and also for members of the various military orders, who are not otherwise present at Delhi, on duty. In 1877 and 1903 the camps were spread over a very large

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area. On the present occasion they have been concentrated round the King-Emperor's camp and arranged on an ordered scheme, a large number of the principal ones being on the processional routes between the Royal camp and the Durbar arena. The camp will be situated on the site of the Old Cantonment on the western side of the Ridge, in the same place as the camps occupied in 1877 and 1903 by Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon respectively. It will be surrounded by those of the Governors, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lieutenant-Governors and the ruling Chiefs, from His Imperial Majesty's special desire to be located as near to his own as possible. The camps for the representatives of the various provinces will be located at a slightly greater distance, but within easy access of the central camp by road and railway. On the north and west outside this great civil encampment, are located the military camps which are at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 miles from the Royal camp. It is anticipated that the whole encampment will have a total population of 2,50,000 persons.

The Colonial Governors and Foreign Consuls will be accommodated in the Foreign Department camp which is close to all the centres of interest. In it will also reside the officers concerned in the administration and ceremonies of the Durbar.

The camp for the Press representatives is stationed near to that of the King-Emperor, and in close proximity to the Central Telegraph Office, where there will be complete arrangements for the conveyance of Press messages.

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Several of the existing roads in Delhi have been considerably enlarged and improved and many miles of new roads have had to be constructed within the camp area. Elaborate arrangements have been made to link up by railway communications the different camps one with the other, and also with the scenes of the different ceremonies. There will be over 30 miles of broad gauge, and some 12 miles of narrow gauge, the terminal railway station on the broad gauge line called the Kingsway Station, being situated in the centre of the camp area close to the principal camps. It is here that the ceremonial arrivals of the Governors, Lieut.-Governors and ruling Chiefs, except those who will arrive by metre gauge line from Rajputana and Kathiawar, will take place. The railway authorities are about to issue a pamphlet containing complete information on all railway matters connected with the Durbar. The camps will be illuminated by electricity from a central power station with generating capacity of 2,500 kilowatts, the risk of fire being thus very largely eliminated. The water-supply will be arranged for by means of two complete water installations, one for drinking purposes with its own pump stations and filter beds which will carry filtered water throughout the central, the military and the provincial camps, and another for irrigation from the Western Jumna Canal system. A veterinary establishment will be available, and the central motor garrage with repair shops, petrol supply, the dairy and other supplies for the camps

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will be arranged for by means of a special dairy equipped with new appliances and managed by the Director of the Military Farms and of a central market, where all the principal supply trades will be represented with subsidiary branches in the outlying areas. A complete equipment of camps, hospitals and dispensaries is being provided, and every precaution is being taken against all forms of epidemic disease. A special Plague Officer has been appointed for Delhi city and an officer of the Indian Medical Service, an Assistant Surgeon and a Sub-Assistant Surgeon, in each of the contiguous revenue sub-divisions. In this area there are also 123 local Plague Officers. This area and Delhi city are now entirely free from plague.

A large force of police, drawn mostly from the Punjab, will be located at Delhi during the Durbar period for traffic and other duty. In connection with the traffic arrangements a special force of British non-commissioned officers and men, some for mounted and some for foot police duty, is now being trained. The Delhi Durbar Police Act of 1902, has been re-enacted, providing penalties for nuisances and breaches of the traffic regulations within the Durbar area.

In addition to the central Post and Telegraph Offices in the camp, there will be 31 branch Post Offices and 10 branch Telegraph Offices. All the camps will be linked up by telephone and public call offices will be established at convenient points. The review will be held on the *Barari* plain, where a parade ground covering over two

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squares has been made. A Royal pavilion has been provided for use on this occasion and on that of the Military Tournament and the point-to-point races. The public will be accommodated in two large stands. The polo grounds, of which there are three, will be situated close to the centre of the camp area. The tournament, the conditions of which have been separately announced, is open to any team from India or abroad. A pavilion will be erected for Their Imperial Majesties at the polo grounds and there will be stands for spectators. There will be three enclosures, to one of which admission will only be gained by the possession of a pass obtained through the official agency at a charge of Rs. 30 for gentlemen, and Rs. 15 for ladies for the whole period, or Rs. 10 for each day during the Royal visit, and Rs. 5 for each day before, the corresponding charge for ladies being Rs. 3. Passes are procurable on special terms by regiments. The holder of a pass is entitled to be present at all tournaments, ceremonies etc., held on the polo ground. The Massed Band will be under the direction of Colonel Somerville and Major Stretton, M. V. O., Commandant and Musical Director respectively of the School of Military Music, Kneller Hall. This Band will play at the principal ceremonies and also at the polo ground.

In addition to the camps for guests of the Government and the ruling Chiefs, the limited hotel accommodation in Delhi has necessitated the provision of camps for visitors.

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